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ABSTRACT

The National Commission for Employment Policy has examined ways that the United States federal government could improve the economic situation of disadvantaged women. In particular, the Commission examined, during 1980, the role of education and employment and training programs in helping women to prepare for better paying occupations, and then made 20 recommendations to Congress for actions to be taken to improve women's opportunities. Recommendations for vocational education improvements included that Congress review provisions of the Vocational Education Act (1) to again focus attention on sex equity provisions; (2) to require a report on the progress that has been made in implementing these provisions; (3) to mandate states to detail sex equity considerations in their Five Year Plans; (4) to drop separate funding of consumer and homemaking programs; (5) to develop model programs to overcome sex stereotyping; (6) to direct the Department of Education to improve sex equity coordination and dissemination of information; (7) to work with the Office of Civil Rights; (8) to provide supportive services such as day care for children of women students; and (9) to increase the role of sex equity coordinators. The Commission recommended also that employment and training programs emphasize preparation for better paying occupations; provide linkages to unsubsidized employment; serve significant segments of the eligible population; provide supportive services; accept recently separated women regardless of income; increase participation of women in training and employment programs; and remove age limits from apprenticeship programs. (The document contains the research that supports the recommendations.) (KC)

National Commission for Employment Policy

Increasing the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women

The National Commission for
Employment Policy
Report No. 11
1522 K Street, NW
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Washington, D.C. 20005
January 1981

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TO THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

On behalf of the National Commission for Employment Policy, I am pleased to transmit its report on: Increasing the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women. This report is focused on the ways in which the Federal Government can assist millions of white, black, and Hispanic women to improve their preparation for the labor market and their prospects for better jobs and higher incomes.

The 20 recommendations that follow are focused on how the Federal Government can strengthen its vocational education and employment and training programs. The Commission recognizes that significant improvement in the economic status of these disadvantaged women requires, in addition to Federal action, constructive interventions by State and local governments as well as by the private sector. The staff chapters of the report illuminate many of these opportunities and how they might be best pursued.

The Commission stands ready to assist both the legislative and executive branches as they respond to the challenge of improving the employment prospects of these disadvantaged women.

ELI GINZBERG
Chairman

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Part A

RECOMMENDATIONS

I. SUMMARY

In response to its congressional mandate to study the barriers to employment facing disadvantaged groups, the National Commission for Employment Policy has completed its investigation into the problems confronting millions of white, black, and Hispanic women who are encountering great difficulties in entering the job market and in securing good jobs. The Commission calls upon the new Administration and the 97th Congress to review this report and its recommendations and to take early remedial action.

The specific recommendations that follow address the role of vocational education and employment and training programs. The Commission is impressed by the potential contribution of these programs to prepare disadvantaged women for better jobs and by the steps that have already been taken to do so. Nonetheless, more can and should be done. The Commission's recommendations focus on actions that lie within the province of the Federal Government. However, success in overcoming the problems faced by disadvantaged women will also require the ongoing commitment and cooperation of other levels of government, the educational authorities, employers, and the support of the public at large.

To improve vocational education programs:

Recommendation 1: Congress, which will soon consider the renewal of the Vocational Education Act, should again focus attention on the treatment of women in vocational education. Hearings should be held on the progress that has been made as a result of the past amendments and on the identification of barriers that remain. Based on such hearings, Congress will be better positioned to decide on how to strengthen the enforcement provisions of the statute.

Recommendation 2: Congress should request the Secretary of Education to submit a report describing the progress that has been made in implementing the sex equity provisions of existing education legislation and the actions that the Department has taken in response to the studies of sex equity that it had earlier funded. This report should be available in time for the above-mentioned reauthorization hearings and Congress should request that a followup report be submitted within 3 years.

- Recommendation 3: Congress should consider amending the Vocational Education Act to require that the annual plans and accountability reports submitted to the Department of Education by the States should specifically address the progress that is being made in achieving sex equity.
- Recommendation 4: Separate funding in the Vocational Education Act for the Consumer and Homemaking Programs should be removed. These programs should compete for funds out of each State's basic grant.
- Recommendation 5: Congress should require that a specific amount of the basic grant funds provided to the States under the Vocational Education Act be used for the development of model programs to overcome sex stereotyping.
- Recommendation 6: In order for the Department of Education to carry out its congressional directive on sex equity in vocational education, the Secretary of Education should assign adequate staff to the function.
- Recommendation 7: The Department of Education should improve the dissemination through the State Sex Equity Coordinators of: (1) research findings concerning sex equity in vocational education; (2) information about model programs; and (3) other information that would assist State and local authorities to achieve sex equity in vocational education.
- Recommendation 8: The Secretary of Education should direct the Office of Vocational and Adult Education and the Office of Civil Rights to recognize equity in vocational education as a priority goal and to work together in the enforcement effort.
- Recommendation 9: The Department of Education should encourage States to improve their coordination with providers of social services (including child care under title XX of the Social Security Act) to ensure that individuals are not denied access to vocational education due to the lack of availability of supportive services.

Recommendation 10: The Department of Education should encourage States to supplement Federal funds to support the work of Sex Equity Coordinators. State education agencies should involve these coordinators in the development of State vocational education plans, as well as in their review.

To improve employment and training programs:

Recommendation 11: Congress and the Department of Labor should enable employment and training programs to provide opportunities for intensive training leading to a regular job, even if such actions increase the cost per participant.

Recommendation 12: The Department of Labor should evaluate CETA prime sponsors and the officials responsible for the Work Incentive (WIN) program on the quality of services provided to participants in training programs. In order to do so, the Department should routinely collect information on the quality of services that are provided.

Recommendation 13: The Department of Labor should disseminate information about programs that are enabling women to obtain nontraditional, higher paying jobs. Organizations with experience in operating such successful nontraditional programs should be used to provide technical assistance to other program operators.

Recommendation 14: The Department of Labor should encourage prime sponsors to participate in the Employment and Training Administration - Office of Federal Contract Compliance (ETA-OFCCP) linkage project to facilitate the placement in unsubsidized employment of women who have been trained in nontraditional occupations.

Recommendation 15: The Department of Labor should undertake a substantive review of the plans and program data of CETA prime sponsors to be sure that significant segments of the eligible population are being equitably served. The Department should take corrective action in cases where prime sponsors repeatedly underserve one or more key groups.

Recommendation 16: CETA prime sponsors and their subcontractors should ensure that women are not prohibited from participation by lack of supportive services. The Department of Labor, in constructing its national performance assessment system, should ensure that disincentives are not created to serving persons who may require child care, transportation, counseling, or other supportive services.

Recommendation 17: The Department of Labor should reassess the method by which family income is calculated in determining the eligibility of recently separated women for CETA participation. Such women who live in poverty should be eligible to participate in CETA.

Recommendation 18: The Department of Labor should seek to increase the participation of women in the national programs funded under title IIIA of CETA. The Office of National Programs should monitor programs within its jurisdiction and should take corrective action when such programs repeatedly fail to meet their goals. To do so, the Office of National Programs should require such programs to report information on the characteristics of participants, including sex, race, and national origin.

Recommendation 19: Congress should eliminate the preference given unemployed fathers over all other Work Incentive (WIN) program registrants.

Recommendation 20: The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor should no longer register apprenticeship programs that have upper age limits on participation. The Commission supports the guidelines earlier proposed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to eliminate the exemption of apprenticeships from the Age Discrimination in Employment Act and urges the EEOC to promulgate these guidelines.

II. TEXT OF RECOMMENDATIONS

A. A National Effort to Increase the Earnings of Disadvantaged Women

The National Commission for Employment Policy has long sought ways of helping economically disadvantaged people prepare for and obtain better jobs. The labor market problems of women have been of increasing concern to the Commission. Despite the rapid movement of women into the labor force, women and households supported by women account for a disproportionate amount of all poverty in America. As documented in the accompanying staff report, half of all poor families are maintained by women.

One facet of the problem is that women, on the average, who work outside the home earn far less than men. For example, in the third quarter of 1980, the average weekly earnings of women working full time were \$200, only 64 percent of the earnings of men. The average earnings of employed black and Hispanic women were even lower. To raise the earnings of women will require actions on many fronts. The Commission, in this report, is focusing on one approach, albeit a critical one: strengthening the preparation of disadvantaged women through vocational education and employment and training systems to improve their access to better jobs.

The Commission calls upon the new Administration and the 97th Congress to review this report and its recommendations and to take early remedial action. The Commission is impressed by the potential contribution of vocational education and employment and training programs to prepare disadvantaged women for better jobs and by the steps that have already been taken to do so. Nonetheless, more can and should be done. The Commission's recommendations focus on actions that lie within the province of the Federal Government. However, success in overcoming the problems faced by disadvantaged women will also require the ongoing commitment and cooperation of other levels of government, the educational authorities, employers, and the support of the public at large.

B. Sex Equity in Education

Occupational stereotyping is a complex phenomenon with roots deep in the social structure. Home, family, and community have as much or more influence on occupational choice than does the school system. It is unreasonable to expect the educational system alone to be successful in combating sex-role stereotyping. But it is reasonable--and critical--that the education system respond more effectively to the needs of a society in which family roles and the labor market are changing rapidly.

The socialization of sex roles in elementary and secondary schools takes many forms. Teachers often treat boys and girls differently in the classroom; textbooks portray men and women in different occupations; guidance counselors offer different advice to members of the two sexes; young women in high school tend to select fewer math and physical science courses than young men. These differences influence in varying degrees the career preparation of young women from every income level, regardless of whether they go on to college.

The recommendations presented below address sex equity issues in vocational education. Vocational education is a curriculum intended to facilitate movement from education to employment, particularly for students who are not planning to attend college. Hence, it can be especially important for youth from low-income families. Although most of the funds for vocational education are provided by State and local governments, Federal support has been provided since 1917. The Vocational Education Act expires at the end of fiscal year 1982. As the Administration and Congress consider reauthorization, it is important that they focus on the role of vocational education in improving the earnings of youth, including young women, from economically disadvantaged families. The first five recommendations are addressed to the Congress, especially as it considers the reauthorization of the Vocational Education Act. Recommendations 6 through 10 are directed to the Department of Education.

1. Congressional Review*

Congress acted in a timely and forward-looking way in 1975 when it held oversight hearings on sex equity in vocational education that led to the sex equity provisions of the 1976 amendments. As a result, the Vocational Education Act (hereafter the Act) is specific in both the emphasis which the States should place on sex equity in vocational education programs and on a range of mechanisms for encouraging the States to promote sex equity. The sex equity provisions of the Act were intended to supplement the general provisions of title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 that prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex in any program receiving Federal education funds. The major stumbling block to fulfilling congressional intent to implement sex equity in vocational education is lack of enforcement at the Federal, State, and local levels.

*Since the Department of Education is in the process of developing legislative proposals for the reauthorization of the Vocational Education Act, it would be inappropriate for it to support specific recommendations to the Congress on the reauthorization at this time. Therefore, the Department does not take a position on Recommendations 1 through 5.

Recommendation 1: Congress, which will soon consider the renewal of the Vocational Education Act, should again focus attention on the treatment of women in vocational education. Hearings should be held on the progress that has been made as a result of the past amendments and on the identification of barriers that remain. Based on such hearings, Congress will be better positioned to decide on how to strengthen the enforcement provisions of the statute.

Sufficient information already exists to make several more specific recommendations with regard to reauthorization. As a result of congressional mandates, several studies have been undertaken or are underway concerning sex equity in vocational education. In addition, new data on participation in vocational education programs by sex have been collected by the Vocational Education Data System and by the Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Education. However, no overall report has been issued evaluating the Nation's progress in opening new occupational opportunities for women through vocational education.

Recommendation 2: Congress should request the Secretary of Education to submit a report describing the progress that has been made in implementing the sex equity provisions of existing education legislation and the actions that the Department has taken in response to the studies of sex equity that it had earlier funded. This report should be available in time for the above-mentioned hearings and Congress should request that a followup report be submitted within 3 years.

The Vocational Education Act requires each State to submit a Five Year Plan that in part sets forth policies and procedures which the State will follow to move toward sex equity in vocational education. The Act emphasizes procedures and planning, but devotes insufficient attention to outcomes.

Recommendation 3: Congress should consider amending the Vocational Education Act to require that the annual plans and accountability reports submitted to the Department of Education by the States should specifically address the progress that is being made in achieving sex equity.

2. Consumer and Homemaking Programs

Consumer and homemaking programs receive a special set-aside in the legislation of over \$40 million annually. This is the only program-specific set-aside in the Vocational Education Act. This set-aside does not appear to contribute significantly to the long-run employability or economic self-sufficiency of women or men. Selection of a curriculum that does not add directly to the employability skills may preclude an individual from taking other vocational programs that are more directly job relevant. Consumer and homemaking programs should compete for funds with the other vocational education programs. Such competition will not interfere with States that want to continue to fund these programs.

Recommendation 4: Separate funding in the Vocational Education Act for the Consumer and Homemaking Programs should be removed. These programs should compete for funds out of each State's basic grant.

3. Model Programs

The law authorizes the Secretary of Education to make grants to the States to conduct a variety of activities designed to strengthen vocational education programs. These include research, curriculum development, personnel training, vocational guidance, counseling, and exemplary and innovative programs. The law sets forth within each of the above categories projects to overcome sex stereotyping and to promote sex equity. It further requires States to give priority in funding exemplary and innovative programs to those designed to reduce sex stereotyping in vocational education. In program year 1978, \$64 million was distributed to the States for these activities, but only \$1 million was used for grants specifically aimed at overcoming sex bias.

Recommendation 5: Congress should require that a specific amount of the basic grant funds provided to the States under the Vocational Education Act be used for the development of model programs to overcome sex stereotyping.

4. Implementation by the Department of Education

The sex equity provisions of the Act are primarily directed toward the States. There are five major requirements placed on State vocational programs. In abbreviated form, these are: designation of a full-time Sex Equity Coordinator; inclusion in

the State Five Year Plan for vocational education of policies and procedures to assure equal access to programs by men and women and to overcome sex bias, sex stereotyping and sex discrimination; inclusion in the State Annual Plan of a report on compliance as described in the Five Year Plan; assurance of representation of women's issues on State and local vocational education advisory councils; and collection of data and evaluation of programs for service to women.

One of the four major purposes of the Act is "to develop and carry out such programs of vocational education within each State so as to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping in vocational education programs" Given the large number of requirements placed on States, and the magnitude of the job to be done, one should not expect these requirements to be fulfilled without continuing oversight and assistance from the Federal Government. The legislation is specific about what States must do, but less so about the role of the Department of Education in promoting sex equity in vocational education. The assignment of Departmental personnel to provide information, coordination, technical assistance and oversight of State planning and evaluation as they relate to sex equity appears to be inadequate.

Recommendation 6: In order for the Department of Education to carry out its Congressional directive on sex equity in vocational education, the Secretary of Education should assign adequate staff to the function.

Recommendation 7: The Department of Education should improve the dissemination through the State Sex Equity Coordinators of: (1) research findings concerning sex equity in vocational education; (2) information about model programs; and (3) other information that would assist State and local authorities to achieve sex equity in vocational education.

The laws and regulations providing for sex equity in vocational education have not been adequately enforced. As a result, progress toward the achievement of sex equity in vocational education has been too slow. Both the Office for Vocational and Adult Education (OVAE) and the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) need to strengthen their enforcement activities.

OCR has responsibility for vocational education under the authority of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in any program or activity receiving Federal assistance, and under title IX of the Education

Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs receiving or benefiting from Federal financial assistance.

Ensuring compliance with civil rights legislation is only the first step in achieving sex equity in vocational education. Considering the lengthy history of sex-segregated patterns in vocational education and in the labor force, these patterns are likely to be continued by sex-stereotyped attitudes of students and staff even after the most blatantly discriminatory practices are eliminated by enforcement of title IX. If sex-stereotyped patterns are to be eradicated, active efforts must be taken to encourage students of both sexes to reevaluate sex stereotypes and to pursue for themselves the equal opportunities guaranteed by law.

While OCR is charged with the primary responsibility for enforcing the relevant civil rights legislation as it bears on sex equity in vocational education, OVAE has the primary responsibility for enforcing the sex equity provisions of the 1976 Vocational Education Act. Some coordination has taken place, but the enforcement process remains slow and cumbersome. An integrated effort by OVAE and OCR could lead to a much stronger enforcement process.

Recommendation 8: The Secretary of Education should direct the Office of Vocational and Adult Education and the Office of Civil Rights to recognize equity in vocational education as a priority goal and to work together in the enforcement effort.

5. Supportive Services

Currently, the law gives States the option of using basic grant money to: (1) "provide support services for women who enter programs designed to prepare individuals for employment in jobs which have been traditionally limited to men, including counseling as to the nature of such programs and the difficulties which may be encountered by women in such programs, and job development and job followup services" and (2) "day care services for children of students in secondary and postsecondary vocational education programs." Few States are actually providing funds for supportive services, including day care. Unfortunately, without such supportive services, it is often impossible for the most disadvantaged women--pregnant teenagers, displaced homemakers, and single heads of household--to enter and pursue vocational education.

Recommendation 9: The Department of Education should encourage States to improve their coordination with providers of social services (including child care under title XX of the Social Security Act) to ensure that individuals are not denied access to vocational education due to the lack of availability of supportive services.

6. Sex Equity Coordinators

One of the requirements of the Act is that each State must designate a Sex Equity Coordinator to assist the State board in promoting sex equity. Their functions include: creating awareness and providing information regarding sex equity problems and solutions; gathering and analyzing data; taking action to overcome sex bias, discrimination, and role stereotyping; reviewing all vocational programs and all grants and contracts; provision of technical assistance to local education agencies; reviewing title IX self-evaluations and the State Plan for Vocational Education; and monitoring the implementation of equal employment laws as they relate to vocational education. Each State is required to spend not less than \$50,000 out of its basic grant to support the Sex Equity Coordinator.

Experience has varied but, considering its modest size, this program has been quite successful in promoting awareness of sex equity problems in vocational education. In addition, the Sex Equity Coordinators have been effective in assisting local education agencies and other institutions that deliver vocational education in their efforts to expand vocational education opportunities for women.

Recommendation 10: The Department of Education should encourage States to supplement Federal funds to support the work of Sex Equity Coordinators. State education agencies should involve these coordinators in the development of State vocational education plans, as well as in their review.

C. Employment and Training Programs

Federally funded employment and training programs are important mechanisms for helping economically disadvantaged women prepare for better paying employment. The recommendations made here are directed toward the improvement of the quality of services provided by CETA and other programs (Recommendations 11-14) and the expansion of access of women to the programs (Recommendations 15-20).

Many of the issues raised in the Commission's examination of the treatment of women are relevant to the treatment of disadvantaged men as well. For both groups, the underlying question is how to use employment and training programs more effectively to increase the long-run earnings of the participants. For women more than men, though, there is the added concern that long-term success will often require helping those who wish to move out of the narrow range of low-wage jobs where most of them are crowded. CETA, the Work Incentive (WIN) program, and related programs can be used, as they have been, to assist in the achievement of this goal. But more needs to be done.

1. Preparation for Better Paying Occupations

There is a pressure both from Congress and the Administration to use limited employment and training funds to serve as many people as possible and to place participants as quickly as possible into unsubsidized employment. However, such short-term objectives can conflict with the long-term goal of helping disadvantaged people prepare for occupations that will enable them to become and remain self-sufficient. For women, a quick placement is more likely to be in a traditionally female, lower paying job. Achievement of self-sufficiency will require that many undergo special preparation for a wider range of occupations.

At present, program operators have few, if any, incentives to conduct intensive training that will have a long-run impact on an individual's earnings, even if the benefits exceed the costs. In fact, there are several disincentives. For example, assessments rely heavily on numbers of participants and costs per placement, rather than on the quality of placement. CETA reporting systems do not include information on the quality of placement. Evaluations of programs, until recently, focused on short-run measures of success, such as positive terminations or placements in unsubsidized employment.

However, CETA amendments in 1978 and recent regulations promulgated by the Department of Labor recognize the importance of using the program to widen the range of occupations available to disadvantaged women. Prime sponsors are instructed to find ways of overcoming sex-role stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment and to take affirmative steps to move women into predominantly male occupations (and vice versa). Nonetheless, the CETA system provides no rewards for prime sponsors who succeed.

Similarly, WIN has a strong emphasis on placement regardless of job quality. Local programs are evaluated on short-run performance standards that stress immediate placements but do not address their quality. The disbursements of a large percentage of WIN funds (i.e., the discretionary allocations) are based on these performance standards. Besides ignoring the type and quality of placements, this disbursement formula has a negative impact on the quantity of services to women as it discriminates against those localities whose eligible population has an overrepresentation of those who are most difficult to serve.

Moving women into nontraditional jobs is not easy. But difficult though it may be, it is not impossible. There are numerous nontraditional programs that have been successful at a relatively low cost, placing women in nontraditional, higher paying jobs.

Recommendation 11: Congress and the Department of Labor should enable employment and training programs to provide opportunities for intensive training leading to a regular job, even if such actions increase the cost per participant.

Recommendation 12: The Department of Labor should evaluate CETA prime sponsors and the officials responsible for the Work Incentive (WIN) program on the quality of services provided to participants in training programs. In order to do so, the Department should routinely collect information on the quality of services that are provided.

Recommendation 13: The Department of Labor should disseminate information about programs that are enabling women to obtain nontraditional, higher paying jobs. Organizations with experience in operating such successful nontraditional programs should be used to provide technical assistance to other program operators.

2. Linkage to Unsubsidized Employment

CETA and related training programs can help move disadvantaged women into better jobs only if women acquire the requisite skills and are assisted in their placement. Effective linkages between employment and training programs and the private sector can facilitate this process. In 1979, the Department of Labor initiated a project to link firms that are not in compliance with Executive Order 11246 with Federal employment and training programs. Through this project, women (and minorities) who have been trained for nontraditionally female (and nontraditionally minority) occupations can be referred to employers who seek to increase their employment of such persons. This Employment and Training Administration - Office of Federal Contract Compliance linkage project, while still in its developmental stage, should be encouraged. One early finding suggests that, while firms have an incentive to participate, prime sponsors do not.

Recommendation 14: The Department of Labor should encourage prime sponsors to participate in the Employment and Training Administration - Office of Federal Contract Compliance (ETA-OFCCP) linkage project to facilitate the placement in unsubsidized employment of women who have been trained in nontraditional occupations.

3. Serving Significant Segments of the Eligible Population

CETA prime sponsors are required to identify and equitably serve significant segments of their eligible population, including women. There are numerous obstacles to their doing so, including various provisions of the CETA law, regulations and program operations, and other laws, regulations and procedures that affect CETA program operations. The recommendations presented below are intended to make CETA and related programs more accessible to disadvantaged women. These recommendations involve: the Department of Labor's assessment of prime sponsor plans and program activities (15), supportive services (16), women who have recently been separated (17), CETA national programs (18), the preference for unemployed fathers in WIN (19), and age limits in apprenticeships (20).

Currently there is little or no substantive monitoring of prime sponsors to assure that significant segments of the population are equitably served. Since Congress is particularly concerned with eliminating fraud and abuse, the majority of the Department's monitoring is limited to that area. Prime sponsors should also be monitored on their

provision of services, so that all key groups receive their fair share of services to which they are entitled under the law. Congress placed the responsibility for the substantive monitoring of CETA programs on the Department of Labor. The Department should develop a well-defined process for substantive monitoring of annual plans and program activities and a list of sanctions that might reasonably be imposed upon prime sponsors who repeatedly underserve significant segments and who refuse to take corrective action.

Recommendation 15: The Department of Labor should undertake a substantive review of the plans and program data of CETA prime sponsors to be sure that significant segments of the eligible population are being equitably served. The Department should take corrective action in cases where prime sponsors repeatedly underserve one or more key groups.

4. Supportive Services

One way to improve the economic situation of disadvantaged women is to encourage them to participate in CETA. But in many cases this participation is conditional on receipt of certain supportive services, such as counseling, child care, and transportation. Provision of these services increases the per capita costs associated with placements.

Currently, there is no national performance assessment system in CETA that provides the basis for the disbursement of funds to prime sponsors. However, performance data such as cost per placement are reported to the national level by prime sponsors, and subcontractors are often evaluated on the basis of such measures. These types of performance standards may inhibit program operators from serving those who are more expensive to serve and who are often most in need. The Department is currently involved in the development of a set of national performance standards. In this process, it should ensure that incentives not be created to avoid serving those most in need. One possibility is to broaden performance indicators to account for the differences in the demographic characteristics of the prime sponsor's eligible population; the composition of these characteristics affects traditional performance measures. Another possibility is to require the reporting of and evaluation of prime sponsors on performance measures for certain subgroups (e.g., women, handicapped, teenage mothers, and disabled veterans) so that a prime sponsor cannot boost the overall performance measures by including in the program an overrepresentation of those who are least costly to serve.

Some of the costs of supportive services, such as child care, need not be paid with CETA funds. Local program operators should be encouraged to coordinate their activities with other sources of support, including title XX of the Social Security Act.

Recommendation 16: CETA prime sponsors and their subcontractors should ensure that women are not prohibited from participation by lack of supportive services. The Department of Labor, in constructing its national performance assessment system, should ensure that disincentives are not created to serving persons who may require child care, transportation, counseling, or other supportive services.

5. Recently Separated Women

One group that often is in urgent need of preparation for employment is women who have been recently separated from their husbands. They frequently are not eligible for participation in CETA employment and training programs because of the way that the regulations define family income. The income determination period is the previous six months. During any part of that period in which a woman was living with her husband, the husband's income must be included. Hence, the husband's income affects the eligibility of a separated woman for CETA services for up to six months after the separation occurred.

Recommendation 17: The Department of Labor should reassess the method by which family income is calculated in determining the eligibility of recently separated women for CETA participation. Such women who live in poverty should be eligible to participate in CETA.

6. National Programs

Under title IIIA of CETA, the Department of Labor administers national programs that fund a wide array of activities. These include training and employment-related services to groups that are experiencing particularly severe disadvantages in the labor market and activities to strengthen and improve the effectiveness of the CETA system itself. The legislation specifically identifies ex-offenders, persons of limited English language proficiency, handicapped, women, single parents, displaced homemakers, youth, older workers, individuals who lack educational credentials, public assistance recipients, Native Americans, migrant and seasonal farm workers, veterans, and other persons whom the Secretary deems to be in need of such services.

In addition to being designated as a specific group in need of services, women also account for the vast majority of such groups as single parents, displaced homemakers, and public assistance recipients, and close to half of the other groups, except for veterans and ex-offenders.

Adequate data on program activities and on the characteristics of participants are not available. However, of the national program funds over which the Department of Labor has some discretion (that is, excluding funds for Native Americans, migrant and seasonal farm workers), about one-third goes to programs with a low goal for women (20 percent) and an additional one-seventh goes to a program for veterans.

There are several options for increasing the funds and services going to women in title IIIA. First, the Office of National Programs could seek to increase the proportion of women in their current programs. Second, they could fund more programs whose main purpose is to serve the employment needs of disadvantaged women. Third, national women's community-based organizations (CBOs) could receive funds under "Operational Funds for Community-Based Organizations," a program funded in title IIIA whereby national CBOs receive funds to provide technical assistance to their local affiliates. Fourth, operators of successful nontraditional programs for women could be funded to provide technical assistance to title IIIA grantees and to prime sponsors on how to overcome sex stereotyping and how to accelerate the movement of women into nontraditionally female, higher paying jobs.

Recommendation 18: The Department of Labor should seek to increase the participation of women in the national programs funded under title IIIA of CETA. The Office of National Programs should monitor programs within its jurisdiction and should take corrective action when such programs repeatedly fail to meet their goals. To do so, the Office of National Programs should require such programs to report information on the characteristics of participants, including sex, race, and national origin.

7. Work Incentive Program

The Work Incentive (WIN) program is designed to help recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children obtain employment and become self-sufficient. Three-quarters of all persons registered in WIN are female, but a slightly smaller proportion of the persons placed in employment are female. Some of the disparity is due to an explicit preference in the legislation given to unemployed fathers over all other WIN

registrants. In view of the trend away from gender-specific distinctions in legislation, this preference is anachronistic and should be eliminated.

Recommendation 19: Congress should eliminate the preference given unemployed fathers over all other Work Incentive (WIN) program registrants.

8. Apprenticeships

Upper age limits in apprenticeship programs limit the access of women to preparation for many skilled occupations. Currently many programs require that persons be under the age of 26 in order to be eligible for an apprenticeship. Women are more likely than men to be adversely affected by such age limits because: (1) they have been discriminated against in their younger years in gaining access to such programs and thus often apply at older ages; (2) often, young women do not develop nontraditional career aspirations until they reach their mid-twenties (after a few years working at a low paying traditionally female job or when they are mature enough to go against societal norms); and (3) they may have experienced interruptions in employment for childbearing reasons (or may have worked only part time during their early twenties).

Lifting the age limit might also increase the number of minority males who would enter apprenticeship programs. Many minority males, especially those who were raised in ghettos, might not apply for apprenticeships until they are older. Indeed, many apprenticeship programs have had to increase their upper age limits to attract minority males to meet goals set by the Department of Labor. Veterans constitute another group who may need to apply at a later age. But they often are already given an exclusion from the age limit, along with current employees. Having rectified the problem for some older workers, it is difficult to justify an upper age limit on the ground of business necessity for other groups.

The Department of Labor's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training continues to register apprenticeship programs with upper age limits. In September 1980, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission proposed to eliminate the exemption of apprenticeship programs from the jurisdiction of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act. However, in January the Commission, in a tie vote, failed to make the proposed rule final.

Recommendation 20: The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor should no longer register apprenticeship programs that have upper age limits on participation. The

Commission supports the guidelines earlier proposed by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to eliminate the exemption of apprenticeships from the Age Discrimination in Employment Act and urges the EEOC to promulgate these guidelines.

Part B

INCREASING THE EARNINGS OF DISADVANTAGED WOMEN:
THE ROLE OF EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

Preface

This staff report was prepared for the members of the National Commission for Employment Policy as part of their review of the problems of disadvantaged women. Ralph Smith coordinated the Commission's activities in this area and is the author of Chapter 1. Patricia Brenner was responsible for the analysis of education and sex equity and is the author of Chapter 2. Wendy Wolf was responsible for the analysis of the treatment of women in employment and training programs and is the author of Chapter 3. Alyson Hennelly's research assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

DANIEL H. SAKS
Director

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION*

The National Commission for Employment Policy has examined ways that the Federal Government could improve the economic situation of disadvantaged women. In particular, the Commission focused during 1980 on the role of education and employment and training programs in helping women to prepare for better paying occupations.^{1/} The Commission's recommendations were presented in Part A of this report. The purpose of Part B is to report the staff findings that led to the recommendations. This chapter begins with a brief review of how the occupational segregation of women relates to the high incidence of poverty among women and then previews the remaining two chapters. Chapter 2 examines how schools can prepare women for more productive and better paying jobs. Chapter 3 analyzes how federally sponsored employment and training programs, particularly in activities funded under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, can offer women who desire better jobs an opportunity to qualify for them.

I. WOMEN IN THE ECONOMY AND IN THE LABOR MARKET

The Commission's decision to focus on the role of education and employment and training programs in helping economically disadvantaged women reflects several observations about the status of women in the U.S.: (1) a large and growing proportion of the poor are women or are in families supported by women; (2) the earnings of women remain considerably below those of men; (3) occupational segregation by sex is an important factor in accounting for women's lower earnings; and (4) education and employment and training programs can help to prepare disadvantaged women for better paying occupations. This chapter discusses the first three of these points. The role of education and employment and training programs is covered in the next two chapters; a summary of these chapters is provided at the end of this chapter.

*The author of this chapter is Ralph E. Smith.

^{1/} Agendas of two conferences that were sponsored by the Commission, on "Sex Equity in Education" and on "The Experience of Women in Employment and Training Programs," are provided in Appendix A. The proceedings of these conferences will be published by the Commission later in 1981. Appendix B contains summaries of research sponsored by the Commission as part of this project.

In 1978, among persons who were in the age group most likely to be working (ages 18-64), 63 percent of the poor were female.^{2/} The higher incidence of poverty among women primarily reflects the considerable amount of poverty in families without a husband present: one-seventh of all families in the U.S. are supported by women, yet these families account for one-half of all poor families (Table 1). Indeed, virtually all of the growth in the number of poor families during the past decade has been in families without husbands.

The considerable amount of poverty among families supported by women is due, in part, to the absence of another potential earner and to the difficulty that many of these women have in working outside the home, especially on a full-time schedule. But these women share with other women a more basic problem: when they do work outside the home, their earnings are likely to be low relative to the earnings of men with similar levels of education.

The incidence of poverty among minority women and their families is especially high. For example, in 1978, 51 percent of black families and 53 percent of the Hispanic families with a female householder were poor, compared with 24 percent of the white families. Exacerbating the problem is the much higher percentage of minority families without husbands present: 40 percent of black families, 20 percent of Hispanic families, and 12 percent of white families were supported by women.

While there are many ways that the Federal Government might improve the well-being of poor women and their families, the approach examined in this report involves strategies to increase their earnings. It should be noted that this approach need not be limited to women who are currently economically disadvantaged:

^{2/} All income and family status data reported in this chapter are from Current Population Reports, published by the Bureau of the Census, and are based on household surveys conducted in March of each year. The income cutoff used to define poverty varies according to family size and other characteristics and is adjusted each year for inflation. In 1978, the poverty line for a nonfarm family of four persons was \$6,662. The term "economically disadvantaged" is a more inclusive one. For example, as used to determine eligibility for participation in CETA it includes anyone who would be eligible for public assistance or who meets certain other criteria, as well as the poor.

Table 1. Selected Characteristics of the Poverty Population, 1978^{a/}

	All Races			White			Black			Hispanic ^{b/}		
	Total	Below Poverty Level		Total	Below Poverty Level		Total	Below Poverty Level		Total	Below Poverty Level	
		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent		Number	Percent
All persons	215,656	24,497	11.4	186,450	16,259	8.7	24,956	7,625	30.6	12,079	2,607	21.6
Males	104,480	10,017	9.6	90,781	6,648	7.3	11,625	3,078	26.5	5,922	1,186	20.0
Females	111,175	14,480	13.0	95,669	9,610	10.0	13,332	4,547	34.1	6,156	1,420	23.1
Persons in Families with Male Head	165,039	9,793	5.9	148,316	7,679	5.2	13,338	1,781	13.4	9,376	1,319	14.1
Persons in Families with Female Head	26,032	9,269	35.6	16,877	4,371	25.9	8,689	4,712	54.2	1,817	1,025	56.4
Unrelated Males	10,688	1,824	17.1	8,984	1,318	14.7	1,466	452	30.9	529	129	24.4
Unrelated Females	13,897	3,611	26.0	12,274	2,891	23.6	1,463	679	46.4	357	134	37.7
All Families	57,804	5,280	9.1	50,910	3,523	6.9	5,906	1,622	27.5	2,741	559	20.4
Families with Male Head	49,346	2,626	5.3	44,992	2,132	4.7	3,516	414	11.8	2,199	272	12.4
Families with Female Head	8,458	2,654	31.4	5,918	1,391	23.5	2,390	1,208	50.6	542	288	53.1

a/In thousands, except as indicated.

b/Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

SOURCE: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Characteristics of the Population Below the Poverty Level: 1978," Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 124 (1980), Tables, 7, 11, and 17.

preparation for jobs with higher earnings can be used to prevent poverty, as well as help people to move out of poverty. This approach is of particular importance to women who are the main support of their families and to minority women, since these women and their families are much more likely than others to be poor.

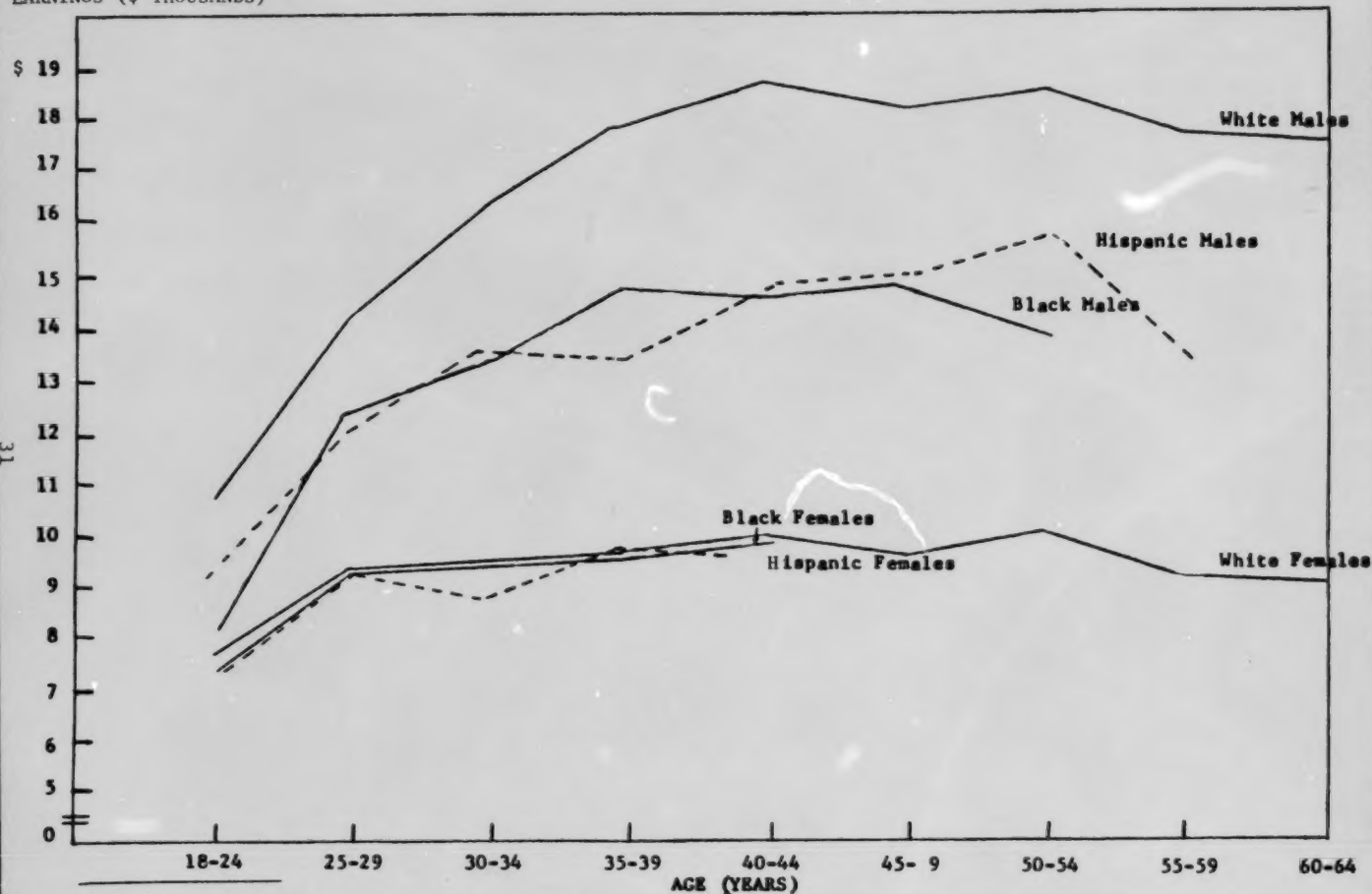
Women's earnings remain far below those of men, regardless of race, educational attainment, or age, though the difference is smaller among minorities. The average woman who works full time, year round earns about 60 percent of the wages of the average male worker. This gap has hardly changed over the past two decades. Figure 1 illustrates the differences in earnings between men and women with the same number of years of formal education. Women--black, Hispanic, and white--earn much less than men within every age group. In the youngest category (ages 18-24) their earnings are about 75 percent of those of men. But men's earnings increase more than women's earnings, so that by ages 40-44 women's earnings are only 50 percent of those of men.

Why do women earn less than men of the same age and educational attainment and why is there so little earnings growth for women as they age? The answers involve many factors, some concerning the characteristics and behavior of the female workers, themselves, and others involving employer behavior. On the supply side, for example, women on average have less work experience than men and this difference increases with age; women also are more likely than men to work part time. On the demand side, some employers may prefer men for certain jobs and women for other jobs; the jobs for which they will hire women may pay less and may provide fewer opportunities for advancement; and employers may be less willing to provide opportunities for on-the-job training for female employees.

Clearly, supply and demand factors interact with one another. Women may not prepare for jobs for which they believe employers will not hire women; employers may not hire women for jobs for which they believe women are not prepared. These explanations are set forth as illustrations of the complex set of forces that result in lower earnings for women. It has not been possible to estimate the extent to which the earnings gap is due to the behavior of the women, themselves, versus the discriminatory behavior of employers.

Figure 1. EARNINGS OF YEAR-ROUND, FULL-TIME WORKERS WITH FOUR YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETED, BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX, 1978,

EARNINGS (\$ THOUSANDS)



SOURCE: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Money Income of Families and Persons in the U.S.: 1978," Current Population Reports, Consumer Income, Series P-60, No. 123 (1980), Table 51. Earnings data for black and Hispanic women, by education and detailed ages, are not available beyond age 44.

But it is clear that, no matter what the cause, the pattern of occupational segregation of the sexes is an important factor in producing and maintaining the wage differential. The pervasiveness of occupational segregation is illustrated in Table 2. One-third of all female workers in 1978 were in clerical occupations. Another fifth were in service occupations. Very few (less than 2 percent) were in craft and related jobs. Differences are even more pronounced at more detailed occupational levels. These patterns--with minor variations--are found for black women and Hispanic women, as well as for white women. The main differences between these groups are that white women are more likely to be in white collar occupations, rather than blue collar occupations, and that Hispanic women are more likely than the others to be working as operatives and less likely to be in any of the white collar occupations.

Occupational segregation is not attributable to differences in the number of years of education between women and men. As discussed in the next chapter, the average level of educational attainment is similar, although there are important differences in the kinds of education received. Also, occupational segregation is found at every level of educational attainment. For example, among employed persons 25 to 64 years old in 1978, 27 percent of the men with only an elementary school education were craft and kindred workers, compared with 3 percent of the women; 40 percent of the women were service workers, compared with 11 percent of the men. Among workers with 1 to 3 years of high school completed, 30 percent of the men, but only 3 percent of the women, were craft and kindred workers; 33 percent of the women, but only 4 percent of the men were service workers. Receipt of a high school diploma increased the chance that a woman would be in a clerical occupation, but not in a craft job.

Occupational segregation is the product of many forces which affect the career choices and career outcomes of men and women. These include early childhood socialization, family roles and pressures, and preferences and prejudices of employers and coworkers. The critical points here are that occupational segregation is pervasive, is a factor in producing lower wages for women, and can be affected by education and employment and training programs.

Table 2. Occupation of Employed Persons, by Sex, Race
and Hispanic Origin, 1978^a

	Total	White	Black and Other	Hispanic ^b
FEMALES				
Total Employed (thous)	38,882	33,943	4,938	1,677
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar Workers	63.2	65.5	47.1	48.2
Professional, Technical, and Kindred	15.9	15.9	13.8	7.5
Managers and Administrators, exc. Farm	6.1	6.5	2.9	3.7
Sales	6.9	7.4	3.1	5.3
Clerical and Kindred	34.6	35.7	27.2	31.7
Blue Collar Workers	14.8	14.3	18.6	28.4
Craft and Kindred	1.8	1.9	1.3	2.1
Operatives	11.8	11.2	15.8	25.2
Laborers, exc. Farm	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.1
Farm Workers	1.3	1.4	0.9	1.5
Service Workers	20.7	18.8	33.4	21.8
MALES				
Total Employed (thous)	55,491	49,893	5,599	2,704
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White Collar Workers	40.8	42.4	26.7	23.6
Professional, Technical, and Kindred	14.7	15.3	9.8	7.6
Managers and Administrators, exc. Farm	14.0	14.8	6.5	6.6
Sales	5.9	6.3	2.6	3.2
Clerical and Kindred	6.2	6.0	7.8	6.2
Blue Collar Workers	46.4	45.6	53.6	58.5
Craft and Kindred	21.1	21.7	15.4	20.9
Operatives	17.7	17.0	24.6	25.5
Laborers, exc. Farm	7.6	7.0	13.6	11.7
Farm Workers	4.1	4.2	3.9	4.7
Service Workers	8.7	7.8	15.9	13.4

^aAnnual average, as percentage of group's employment, except as indicated.
^bMarch 1979 Current Population Survey Estimates.

SOURCES: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "A Statistical Portrait of Women in the U.S.: 1978," *Current Population Reports, Special Studies, Series P-23, No. 100* (1980), p. 112, and "Persons of Spanish Origin in the U.S.: March 1979," *Population Characteristics, Series P-20, No. 354* (1980), p. 29.

A serious gap in our knowledge is the absence of a good estimate of the extent to which a reduction in occupational segregation would result in an increase in female wages. We can infer that the direct impact would be significant--that is, if women moved into occupations that are now predominantly male and occupational wage rates were unaffected, then the earnings of women would increase accordingly. For example, the average weekly earnings of craft workers are about 50 percent higher than those of clerical workers. But we do not know the extent to which the move, by itself, would affect either the wages of predominantly female or predominantly male occupations. The concentration of women into a narrow range of occupations, together with the continued movement of large numbers of women out of the home and into the same occupations, depresses their wages. If fewer women entered or remained in these occupations, this would tend to raise wages in these occupations above what they otherwise would have been and lower wages in the newly-entered occupations.^{3/}

^{3/}The direct effect of occupational segregation has been estimated in some studies by a standardization technique in which the total wage differential is disaggregated into portions associated with: wage differences between men and women in the same occupation, differences in occupational distributions, and the interaction of these differences. One such study, by Barry Chiswick and others, found that 28 percent of the male-female wage rate difference among whites and 22 percent of the difference among blacks was directly associated with differences in occupational distributions ("The Effect of Occupation on Race and Sex Differences in Hourly Earnings," Proceedings of the American Statistical Association (1974), pp. 219-228). But these estimates do not include the indirect impact of segregation through its effect on wages in predominantly female occupations and therefore they probably seriously underestimate the total impact. See Barbara Bergmann, "Occupational Segregation, Wages and Profits When Employers Discriminate by Race or Sex," Eastern Economic Journal (April-July 1974): 103-110.

II. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

There are many causes of female poverty and low earnings and, hence, many potential points of intervention. This report focuses on one particular strategy for helping disadvantaged women: preparation for higher paying occupations through the education system (especially vocational education) and through federally sponsored employment and training programs. It should be recognized at the outset that this strategy addresses only one aspect of the problems confronting many disadvantaged women and their families. We are not addressing other potential sources of income, such as public transfer programs or child support and alimony payments. Nor are we considering other strategies for increasing their earnings such as actions against wage and employment discrimination by employers, changes in work schedules and child care availability to facilitate employment outside the home for parents of young children, and measures that might be initiated by employers, unions, and others.

The choice of the particular topics addressed in this report reflects, in part, the Commission's legislated mandate to examine the extent to which federally sponsored programs are meeting the Nation's employment needs. In 1976, when Congress reauthorized the Vocational Education Act, extensive provisions were included to encourage vocational education programs to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping. In 1978, when the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was reauthorized, greater emphasis was placed on the use of employment and training programs to overcome sex stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment. Both laws will be considered for reauthorization during the next 2 years and it is appropriate and timely for the Commission to examine how women, especially disadvantaged women, have fared in these programs.

Vocational education and CETA and related programs are particularly important activities for helping disadvantaged women because they affect women's occupational choices and preparation and are intended to increase the lifetime earnings of participants. Vocational education is explicitly intended to prepare individuals for work. Although the students are not necessarily economically disadvantaged, they are usually young people who are not college-bound. CETA and related programs are designed to increase the earnings of economically disadvantaged participants and enhance their self-sufficiency.

Chapter 2, by Patricia Brenner, considers experiences in schools that may contribute to arbitrary sex differences in economic roles and then examines the treatment of women within vocational education curricula. A review of the literature indicates that schools could widen opportunities for women in several ways. These include improving the counseling process to help girls make more informed choices about the courses they take; preparing textbooks and other teaching material in a way that does not foreclose options for girls; providing female role models in education administration; and conducting classes in a manner that acknowledges equal potential for boys and girls.

Students who choose a vocational curriculum in high school or who enter postsecondary vocational programs have already undergone considerable socialization about appropriate sex roles both in school and in the larger society. Nevertheless, high school is particularly important because it is at this stage that students first exercise choice about the courses they will take. Course choices condition later decisions. The main problem with vocational education is that it is still enrolling boys and girls in different activities, although there are some signs of change. The majority of women are enrolled in stereotypically female programs: consumer and home-making, office, and health programs. Men predominate in agriculture, technical, and trades and industry programs. The only major program that is not predominantly enrolling one sex or the other is retail sales.

Suppose vocational education were used more frequently to prepare women for occupations that are not already predominantly female. What effect would this have on the long-term earnings of the students? Unfortunately, we can only infer that the impact would be positive and large, but we have no direct evidence one way or the other. Studies have found that there is a relationship between vocational training and vocational outcome; women who are trained to type do tend to work as typists. Furthermore, we know that the predominantly male and mixed occupations tend to have higher wages than do predominantly female occupations. But the absence of very many women in nontraditional vocational programs, in the

past, precluded a direct analysis; research on this topic is now being sponsored by the Commission.^{4/}

The Vocational Education Act amendments enacted in 1976 introduced specific mechanisms for promoting sex equity in vocational education. These provisions, detailed in Chapter 2, include the requirement that each State, in order to receive Federal funds under the Act, must designate a Sex Equity Coordinator and take other measures to overcome sex bias, sex stereotyping, and sex discrimination. Preliminary evidence suggests that schools that implemented programs to encourage occupational desegregation were successful in doing so. National statistics indicate that more female students are enrolling in agricultural and technical programs, but most are still being prepared for the predominantly female occupations.

Chapter 3, by Wendy Wolf, addresses analogous issues involving the treatment of women in federally sponsored employment and training programs. These programs are intended to increase the employability of economically disadvantaged participants. This chapter examines the experiences of women in the largest program, CETA, and the barriers to more effectively using it to increase the long-term earnings of disadvantaged women. The 1978 CETA amendments and recent (May 1980) regulations of the Department of Labor call for prime sponsors to overcome sex stereotyping and to take positive steps to place women in jobs outside the predominantly female occupations. The Work Incentive (WIN) program is also examined, since the main group served by WIN is low-income women.

Because CETA is designed to help disadvantaged people, the majority of people who are eligible are female. Data reviewed in Chapter 3 indicate that women are participating in numbers roughly proportional to their eligibility in CETA training programs, but are underrepresented in the public service employment activities. Among participants in CETA training programs, women are disproportionately in classroom training, rather than on-the-job training.

^{4/}Robert Meyer, "The Effects of Vocational Education on Youth," forthcoming.

Several issues are raised about women's access to CETA programs. Prime sponsors are instructed by the Department of Labor to serve "significant segments," including women, equitably. However, there are other groups also to be served that may be given a higher priority by the Department, and there is little monitoring of prime sponsors to assure that women are, in fact, being served equitably. Additional issues discussed include: the provision of supportive services which many women (and men) need in order to participate; maximum age limits in apprenticeship programs that, in effect, restrict access to preapprenticeship programs as well; and rules used to determine whether recently separated women meet the income eligibility requirements for admission into CETA programs.

The fundamental issues, though, involve the types of activities that women in CETA are provided, rather than the number of women served. There is evidence that women are still being prepared for and placed in lower paying stereotypically female jobs, even though many CETA participants express interest in a wider range of occupations. The situation is similar to that of vocational education. Although progress has been made in recent years, the pattern of occupational segregation by sex in CETA mirrors that found in the labor force. For example, in fiscal year 1978, 48 percent of the women who were in CETA public service employment or adult work experience programs had clerical and related jobs, compared with only 9 percent of the male participants; less than 2 percent of the women, but 17 percent of the men, were in the better paying craft and related jobs. As with vocational education, we can only infer that the preparation and placement of more women in occupations outside the stereotypical ones would increase the long-term earnings of female CETA participants.

Why are not more women in the employment and training programs being prepared for higher paying occupations such as the skilled crafts? The answers are to be found in the desires and actions of the female participants, the program operators and employers. For example, in fiscal year 1978, 55 percent of adult female CETA participants surveyed indicated a desire for a traditional female job and their placements largely reflected that interest. But 40 percent of the women who expressed interest in a traditionally male occupation were also placed in a traditionally female job. Our research is inconclusive about the degree to which specific barriers are responsible for

the tendency of the employment and training programs to maintain the pattern of occupational segregation. The factors that appear to contribute involve incentives within the CETA systems to quickly and inexpensively place participants. For women, this often means placement in traditionally female occupations. There are no incentives for program operators to prepare women for other occupations that have higher wages and more advancement opportunities.

The experiences of women in the WIN program raise similar issues. Approximately three-quarters of the WIN registrants and a slightly smaller fraction of persons placed in jobs through WIN are female. The jobs in which these women are placed are mostly in the predominantly female, lower paying occupations. These patterns are due, in part, to the fact that the women in WIN are, on average, less employable than the male registrants. But there are also certain aspects of the program that result in men being given priority over women and in emphasis being put on finding a quick placement, even if the job has a low wage and little opportunity for advancement.

An important focus for programs such as CETA and WIN that are intended to reduce poverty is helping women have an equal opportunity to prepare for better paying jobs. A number of projects supported by the Department of Labor have demonstrated that it is possible to recruit, train, place, and retain women in higher paying, nontraditionally female occupations. Special efforts are sometimes needed to overcome the real or perceived problems that participants, program operators, and employers may have; but it can and has been done.

CHAPTER 2. SEX EQUITY IN THE SCHOOLS*

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses sex equity in the Nation's schools.^{1/} Women workers are concentrated in a small number of predominantly female occupations that are low paying, as detailed in Chapter 1. We are concerned with the ways that schools contribute to this concentration. Occupational stereotyping is a complex phenomenon rooted widely and deeply in society. Home, family, and community have as much or more influence on occupational choice as the school system. Thus, it would be unreasonable to expect the schools to counteract completely the forces in society that channel women into a limited number of predominantly female occupations. Nonetheless, the schools could help change the occupational qualifications and aspirations of women.

This chapter is also concerned with how the Federal Government can promote sex equity in the schools. While it would be difficult to initiate direct change in the behavior of families and communities, the Federal Government already has in place policies designed to initiate change in the schools. For example, the Federal Government provides funds for bilingual education and compensatory education to improve the basic skills of disadvantaged children. These programs assist children who might not otherwise receive an adequate education. Similarly, equal opportunity for boys and girls is an important goal for Federal funding of education programs.

There are numerous practical and legal difficulties with Federal intervention in the school system to promote sex equity. These difficulties are not insurmountable, but they should be recognized. Perhaps the major barrier to Federal Government intervention is that it must try to stimulate change in a very disaggregated and diverse delivery system, the more than 16,000 school districts and several thousand more institutions that deliver post-secondary and adult education.

It is sometimes suggested that the ability of the Federal Government to intervene in the school system is limited because the Federal contribution is only about one-tenth of the total expenditures on elementary and secondary education. Nevertheless, that one-tenth is still a significant amount in absolute terms (Federal

*The author of this chapter is Patricia Brenner.

^{1/}Consistent with our focus on disadvantaged women, this chapter addresses the difficulties faced by those who do not go on to college.

expenditures on elementary and secondary education totaled \$6.8 billion in 1978-79),^{2/} and appears to be effective when it is well targeted toward a specific goal.^{3/} In the face of increasing fiscal difficulties, schools may be willing to maintain and expand certain programs in which the Federal Government has a particular interest only if Federal funds are available.

Currently, the direct contribution of the Federal Government to promote sex equity in the schools is comparatively small, in the neighborhood of \$40 million.^{4/} Even with limited expenditures, the Federal Government could play an important role by developing model programs to reduce the costs and increase the benefits to the schools of implementing actions to promote sex equity. In fact, it is doubtful that significant progress toward sex equity in the schools will ever be made unless and until efforts toward this end are viewed not as a Federal program but as fundamental to the provision of equal education for all.

Section II of this chapter treats the general topic of differences in the quantity and quality of education received by boys and girls. It constitutes a topic in its own right, but also serves as an introduction to a detailed discussion of sex equity in vocational education.

There are several reasons for focusing on vocational education. First, vocational education as a Federal program will soon be considered for reauthorization. To a greater extent than in any other education program,

2/National Center for Education Statistics, Statistics of Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, Fall 1978 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1979).

3/Perhaps the best example here is compensatory education as provided under title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

4/This estimate is made in a study conducted by the Women's Educational Equity Communications Network. The \$40 million is small compared with expenditures to promote equity for other deserving groups, such as language and ethnic minorities and the handicapped and for racial desegregation. Susan S. Klein and Melanie A. Goodman, Federal Funding to Promote Sex Equity in Education: 1980, report by Women's Educational Equity Communications Network for U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development for U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Women's Educational Equity Act, 1979).

the Federal Government has already addressed sex equity in vocational education through legislation. Second, vocational education is intended to prepare individuals for work. Largely because of this employment linkage, it is the only high school curriculum that receives direct Federal funding. Half of the Federal contribution to secondary education is through vocational education. Federal expenditures on vocational education in both secondary and postsecondary institutions totaled \$551 million in fiscal year 1979.^{5/} Thus, by legislative precedent and by financial impact, the ability of the Federal Government to promote sex equity in vocational education seems promising.

Even if legislation did not exist, vocational education would be a good point for intervention in the process that pushes girls into predominantly female jobs. The wide sex differences in course and program enrollments in vocational education are so clear that it is not plausible that they happened by chance. The third section of this chapter will review the relevant data on vocational education, survey the research on the labor market effects of vocational education, and review the experience under current legislation that addresses sex equity in vocational education.

^{5/}National Center for Education Statistics, A Statistical Overview of Vocational Education, September 17, 1980.

II. EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR GIRLS AND BOYS IN THE SCHOOLS

In this section, we will examine differences in the quantity and quality of education received by girls and boys. Virtually all children complete grade school and take identical courses. Despite this apparent equality of treatment, outcomes are not the same. While girls and boys are about equally likely to finish high school, curriculum and course selection in high school is differentiated by sex. Girls and boys in the academic curriculum are differentiated by their majors in college, and girls and boys in the vocational curriculum tend to take quite different programs. In the third section we will explore these differences in vocational education extensively.

It is important to consider the sources of the different tastes and talents of men and women. Possible biological differences between males and females that could result in differential ability to perform certain tasks include personality differences, intellectual differences, and physical differences.^{1/} Along each of these dimensions, there is evidence of some difference in the average for men and the average for women. But the distributions for men and women clearly overlap, and tell us very little about the qualifications of any individual for a particular job. Generally, evidence does not suggest that biological differences provide much basis for occupational segregation of men and women.

Nevertheless, socialization^{2/} based on a biological difference (sex) has a considerable impact on the occupations that individuals regard as suitable for themselves.

^{1/}For an extensive review of the literature on occupationally relevant biological differences between males and females and on the influences of family, the media, and peers on sex-role socialization, see research sponsored by the Commission (Linda J. Waite and Paula M. Hudis, The Development and Maintenance of a Segregated Labor Force: Review, Synthesis, Critique of Recent Research, report for the National Commission for Employment Policy (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Employment Policy, 1980).

^{2/}Socialization is "the process by which one learns or is taught how to behave in any group or society: It is learning the culture or ways of a group." B.N. Adams, The Family: A Sociological Interpretation (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975). Sex-role socialization involves learning appropriate sex-typed behaviors and learning the cultural sex-role stereotypes. Jo Ann Steiger et al., Literature and Secondary Data Review 3, The Vocational Education Study, report for the U.S. Department of Education (Washington, D.C.: American Institutes for Research, 1979).

Major agents of socialization are family, peers, the media, and the schools. Each of these institutions both reflects and contributes to sex stereotyping.^{3/} The second part of this section discusses the ways that experiences in schools contribute to sex-role socialization and stereotyping.

A. Educational Attainment

In this part we present data on educational attainment. We conclude that differential treatment of the sexes in the schools is not a question of simple completion of high school. The question is really the labor market preparation that schooling provides for men and women. We also consider specifically enrollment in math courses.

On the gross measure of median years of schooling, the educational attainment of males and females has been virtually equal since the mid-sixties.^{4/} The median years of school completed by males 25 and over in 1979, at 12.6, was just slightly higher than that for females, at 12.4 as shown in Table 1. The pattern by gender is quite similar when disaggregated by race. White females had slightly less education than white males. Black males and females had the same median years of schooling. Hispanic males had a slight advantage over Hispanic females.

The median figure hides an important difference in the distribution of education by sex. Males are found disproportionately at the lower and higher levels of

^{3/}Sex stereotyping is defined by the regulations implementing title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act as attributing behaviors, abilities, interests, values, and roles to a person or group of persons on the basis of sex.

^{4/}Prior to the mid-sixties, females had higher median years of schooling than males. For each year since 1973, Census surveys show that males have slightly higher median years of schooling (.1 to .2 years) than females.

Table 1. Median Years of School Completed by Persons
25 Years of Age and Older by Sex and Race, March 1979

	Males	Females
Total	12.6	12.4
White	12.6	12.5
Black	11.9	11.9
Hispanic	10.4	10.2

SOURCE: U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Educational Attainment in the United States, Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics, P-20 Series, Number 356 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census), Table 1.

education. They are a relatively large proportion of those with less than 8 years of schooling and of those with doctorates. Females, on the other hand, are at least as likely as males to finish high school. In 1978, females were 51.0 percent of high school graduates, 47.1 percent of college graduates, and 26.4 percent of doctorates.^{5/} While the focus of this chapter is on persons who do not later go on to college, it is noteworthy that females have been increasing their percentages of post-high school degrees since 1965.

As with males, females' labor force participation and wages rise with educational attainment. Educational attainment also affects the kinds of jobs women are able to obtain. Table 2 shows the occupations of female high school graduates compared with those of female high school dropouts.

Overall, 67.2 percent of women high school dropouts and 70.9 percent of women high school graduates were clerical workers, private household workers, and service workers. However, while about 19 percent of the dropouts were in clerical jobs, about 48 percent of the graduates were in clerical jobs. Completing high school more than doubles the chance that a woman will be a clerical worker (unless, of course, she goes on to college).

Outside of specific vocational programs, the major sex difference in course enrollment in high school is that females take somewhat less math than males. Several studies have shown that through grade seven or eight, when boys and girls are taking the same math courses, there are almost no differences in their math scores. By 12th grade, a significant male advantage in math performance has emerged.^{6/} Much, but not all, of this

^{5/}National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 1980 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, 1980), Tables 58 and 110.

^{6/}The National Assessment of Educational Progress conducted studies of math achievement among 9-, 13- and 17-year-olds in 1972-73 and again in 1977-78. Both of these assessments showed little difference by sex in the performance of 9- and 13-year olds, but statistically significant differences of 2 to 5 percentage points in the average percentages of correct responses to several measures of mathematical achievement for 17-year-olds. Another national survey of 13-year-olds and 17-year-olds conducted in the fall of 1978 found similar results: 13-year-old females did as well or better than their male

Table 2. Major Occupation Group of Employed 1973
Women High School Graduates Not Enrolled in College
and of 1972-73 School Dropouts, October 1973

Major Occupation Group	1973 High School Graduates	1972-73 School Dropouts
All Occupation Groups:		
Number (in Thousands)	560	182
Percent	100.0	100.0
Professional, Technical Workers	2.9	.6
Managers, Administrators (Except Farm)	.4	--
Sales Workers	10.2	3.9
Clerical Workers	47.8	18.9
Craft and Kindred Workers	.7	.6
Operatives (Except Transport)	13.1	24.4
Transport Equipment Operatives	--	--
Laborers (Except Farm)	1.6	2.8
Private Household Workers	3.2	11.1
Service Workers (Except Private Household)	19.9	37.2
Farmers and Farm Managers	--	--
Farm Laborers and Supervisors	.4	.6

SOURCE: U.S., Department of Labor, Employment Standards
Administration, Women's Bureau, 1975 Handbook on
Women Workers (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department
of Labor, 1975) Table 82, p. 191.

difference can be attributed to the fact that boys take more math courses than girls.^{7/}

Taking math courses is positively related to ninth grade ability and educational aspiration. But since boys and girls do not differ much on these variables, they cannot explain much of the sex difference in participation. Two thorough studies have found that the most important sex-differentiated factor influencing a student to take math courses is the perceived usefulness of math for meeting future goals.^{8/} Another important factor is encouragement by parents and teachers. Many girls do not continue in math because they perceive it as a male domain.^{9/}

The major adverse effects on occupational segregation of not taking math seem to be in the lack of preparation for many technical occupations and in an aversion to going back into math courses at a later age. Thus, students who, for whatever reasons, fail to take math in high school seldom take remedial math courses later.

counterparts, while 17-year-old females had fallen behind. Jane M. Armstrong, A National Assessment of Achievement and Participation of Women in Mathematics, Final Report to the National Institute of Education on its Two-Year Grant to the Education Commission of the States (Denver: Education Commission of the States, 1979).

^{7/}One study that estimated the contribution of various explanatory factors to differences in 12th grade achievement in math found that seven-eighths of the relationship between sex and 12th grade math achievement could be attributed to math taken and initial achievement (females who took math had slightly higher ninth grade achievement, on average than males). Lauress L. Wise, Lauri Steel, Charlotte MacDonald, Origins and Career Consequences of Sex Differences in High School Mathematics Achievement (Palo Alto, California: American Institutes for Research, 1979).

^{8/}Armstrong, Achievement and Participation of Women in Mathematics; Wise, Steel, MacDonald, Origins and Career Consequences.

^{9/}Lynn H. Fox, Elizabeth Fennema, Julia Sherman, "The Effects of Sex Role Socialization on Mathematics Participation and Achievement," Women and Mathematics: Research Perspectives for Change, NIE Papers in Education and Work: Number Eight (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education, Education and Work Group, 1977), p. 43.

While girls on average still take less math than boys, there is some evidence that they are beginning to narrow the gap in course-taking.^{10/} National time series data on math course enrollments have not been collected on a consistent basis. Nevertheless, by drawing on several separate data bases collected at different points in time, we find a narrowing in the differential in math preparation between males and females.^{11/} The 1960 Project Talent Sample found that 9 percent of the girls and 33 percent of the boys were taking 4 years of math in high school. In the National Longitudinal Sample of high school seniors in 1972, 39 percent of the males and 22 percent of the females had taken 4 years of high school math. The 1977-78 National Assessment of Educational Progress report appears to show a further narrowing of the male-female differential: 31 percent of the males and 27 percent of the females in the sample had taken 4 years of high school math.

One study of the achievement and participation of women in math has generated data on the taking of high school math by curriculum. Both males and females in the college preparatory curriculum were much more likely to have taken 4 years of math than those in either of the other two curriculums. Males and females in the vocational curriculum were least likely to have taken 4 years of math.

There is a tendency for females to be less well prepared than males in math when they graduate from high school. While some progress has been made, it appears that girls will continue to need encouragement from parents, teachers, and counselors if they are to leave high school equally well prepared in math as boys.

^{10/}At the same time that girls have been catching up with boys in taking math courses, both boys and girls have been performing less well on tests of math achievement. The National Assessment of Educational Progress collected math scores by race, sex, and age in 1972-73 and 1977-78. Only 9-year-old blacks improved their scores. While many partial explanations have been offered for the decline in student test scores, none are completely satisfactory. The decline in female performance in math seems especially puzzling in light of evidence that girls are taking more math.

^{11/}The Education and Work Group of the National Institute of Education initiated funding of research on women and math in 1977, an activity now managed by the Learning and Development Division. The data in this paragraph were provided by Susan Chipman, Assistant Director for Learning and Development, National Institute of Education.

Table 3. Students Taking Four or More
Years of Mathematics
(Percent)

	Total	College Prep	Voc. Tech.	General
Males N=840)	31.3	61.4	4.7	8.7
Females (N=936)	27.1	55.8	4.1	6.6

SOURCE: Data provided by Susan Chipman, Assistant
Director for Learning and Development,
National Institute of Education, from
Jane M. Armstrong, A National Assessment
of Achievement and Participation.

B. Quality of Education

We have seen that girls are as likely as boys to graduate from high school; there is not much difference in the quantity of education received. Girls, however, take less math than boys. We now turn to something that is harder to measure than years of education or numbers of courses taken in different subjects: the quality of education received. It appears that even when boys and girls take the same courses, sex-role socialization detrimental to girls' future employment prospects occurs.

Linking sex differences in the labor force to differential treatment of students in schools is a difficult task, especially because most of the research on the latter has been at the elementary school level--long before vocational choices are made. Much work remains to understand this linkage. We know more about the ways that experiences in schools contribute to sex-role socialization. We will survey the literature under four headings: differential classroom interactions, textbooks and reading materials, role models, and counselors and counseling.

1. Differential Classroom Interactions

It is well established that females have lower expectations of success at performing a variety of tasks than males, at least from middle childhood.^{12/} This lower expectation of success occurs even in situations where girls, in fact, perform as well as boys. Previous research has not directly attempted to determine at what age these different expectations emerge, an important consideration if one is interested in intervention. There is, however, indirect evidence that stable expectations are probably not present in preschool children. Hence, the development of lower performance expectations by girls begins sometime after they have entered formal schooling.

There are several ways that socializing agents, primarily parents and teachers, could contribute to lower expectations for girls than boys: (1) they may make it known that they expect females to perform less well; (2) they may give children different explanations for their successes and failures, and (3) they may respond differently to the achievement of boys and girls.^{13/}

^{12/}Jacquelynne E. Parsons et al., "Cognitive Development Factors in Emerging Sex Differences in Achievement-Related Expectancies," Journal of Social Issues 32, no. 3 (1976): 48.

^{13/}Ibid., p. 54.

Research findings do not confirm that parents and teachers expect boys to perform better than girls in elementary schools. In fact, the reverse is true--girls are expected to do better than boys. It may be, however, that while forecasting immediate success for girls, teachers and parents are conveying limited projections for girls' future success.

There has been some concern that the predominance of female teachers in elementary schools may have consequences for the scholastic performance of certain students. One author suggested that "schools are emasculating our boys."^{14/} Research, however, has not confirmed any relationship between sex of teachers and academic performance of either sex. Similarly, most studies show no effect of the teacher's gender on sex-role socialization of students. Male and female teachers treat students similarly in the classroom.

On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that teachers of both sexes interact differently with boys and girls in the classroom. Causality almost surely runs in both directions: teachers treat boys and girls differently, and boys and girls behave differently, thus eliciting differential teacher response. Research by psychologists has begun to draw out subtle linkages between the differential treatment of boys and girls in the classroom and the development of psychological barriers to achievement by women. One such barrier mentioned earlier is sex differences in the expectation of success in performing various tests. Self perceptions clearly influence behavior, including persistence at a task.^{15/}

Several studies by Dweck suggest that teachers do provide differential explanations for the successes and failures of boys and girls.^{16/} Based on observations

^{14/}Patricia Cayo Sexton, "Schools Are Emasculating Our Boys," in And Jill Came Tumbling After, eds. Stacey, Bereaud, and Daniels (New York: Dell, 1974), pp. 138-141.

^{15/}Parsons et al., "Cognitive Development Factors," p. 48.

^{16/}The studies by Dweck are summarized in Jeana Wirtenberg, Improving Women's Occupational Potential: A Review of the Literature (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1978).

of teacher interaction with male and female students, Dweck found differences in both the frequency and the nature of feedback received by girls and boys. Poor performance was much more often attributed to lack of effort by boys and to lack of ability by girls. Hence, boys may perceive that their failure can be overcome by greater effort while girls perceive that they will do better to avoid situations that have led to failure in the past. No comparable studies have been done on parent interaction.^{17/}

Research indicates that girls are better behaved than boys in school, more compliant to rules and are less likely than boys to be autonomous, independent or assertive. Specifically, studies have found that boys are more likely to initiate contact with the teacher and to raise their hands than girls.

Research has generally shown that boys receive both more praise and more criticism than girls in the classroom. Both gender and academic achievement affect the frequency and kind of responses directed toward students and these two variables interact. Safilios-Rothchild found that low achieving boys for whom teachers have low expectations are often criticized and seldom given positive feedback about their academic work. These boys frequently respond to failure and criticism with aggression, thus eliciting more teacher disapproval. Low achieving girls, on the other hand, are less likely to be criticized by the teacher than low achieving boys. Safilios-Rothchild suggested this is because "girls' low achievement does not go against sex-role stereotypes and social expectations."^{18/} High achieving males receive the most positive feedback because their performance is both successful and sex appropriate. High achieving females receive more ambivalent feedback because their academic success may be regarded as sex inappropriate.

Overall, it is likely that classroom interaction results in a lowering of female performance expectations

^{17/}Parsons et al., "Cognitive Development Factors," p. 56.

^{18/}Constantina Safilios-Rothchild, Sex-Role Socialization and Sex Discrimination: A Synthesis and Critique of the Literature (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education, 1979), p. 76.

compared to males. Differential teacher treatment of boys and girls seems to reinforce sex stereotypical attitudes and behaviors.

2. Textbooks and Reading Materials

Considerable research indicates the existence of sex bias and sex stereotyping in educational materials.^{19/} Sexism in textbooks may be particularly detrimental because all children are required to read them on a sustained basis. Textbooks also generally have the express approval of State or local school boards so that their content takes on an official connotation.

Textbooks have been found to be biased against women in three ways. First, women simply are portrayed less frequently than men. Second, women are portrayed in unflattering ways more often than men. Third, the range of occupations in which women are portrayed is even more narrow than the range of occupations they fill in the labor force.

It should be noted that the studies on portrayal of women in textbooks are somewhat dated. Some improvement may have taken place in the last few years. Nevertheless, a study done in 1980 concluded "the use of revised editions of familiar texts, multi-year adoptions of texts and the shelf life of the books contained in the school library all probably mean that many of the sex-biased texts reviewed in the past ten years are still being used by students."^{20/}

Recent research by Myra Sadker and David Sadker on teacher education texts found these materials devote more attention to males than to females and include offensive and stereotypic portrayals of females. Most importantly, the texts neither addressed issues of sexism in the classroom nor pointed to research on such issues as math anxiety and math avoidance. Very little material was devoted to showing future teachers the importance of

^{19/}The most thorough of these studies is Women on Words and Images, Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers (Princeton, N.J.: Central New Jersey NOW, 1972).

^{20/}Waite and Hudis, The Development and Maintenance of a Segregated Labor Force, p. 45.

teacher expectations and how to identify personal sex bias. The Sadkers argue that these texts are an important part of the teacher education curriculum and that new teachers are unlikely to be exposed to research in sex equity in education in other ways.^{21/}

Research on the effects of biases and stereotyping in reading materials on children is less extensive.^{22/} Most such studies try to assess the effect on children of racial and ethnic biases in reading material, but the conclusions are suggestive of the effects of sex bias in reading material as well. Several studies have found that children who read multiethnic materials reported more favorable attitudes toward members of other racial groups than did children not exposed to the special materials.

Summarizing the research on the impact of reading materials on children's attitudes and values, Waite found the material to be suggestive if not conclusive.

"The content of readings used in elementary schools does appear to have a significant influence on children's attitudes in the short run, but the effect of a single story does not seem to be long lived. Exposure to sex-biased readings over a period of several years had a statistically significant effect on children's sex stereotyping in one study. One can conclude at least that gender bias in reading materials has the potential for influencing children's attitudes and behavior."^{23/}

^{21/}Myra Sadker and David Sadker, "Sexism in Teacher-Education Texts," Harvard Educational Review 50, no. 1 (February 1980): 36-46.

^{22/}This literature is summarized in U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Characters in Textbooks: A Review of the Literature (Washington, D.C.: 1980).

^{23/}Waite and Hudis, The Development and Maintenance of a Segregated Labor Force, pp. 49-50.

3. Role Models

Several studies indicate that children tend to prefer activities viewed as sex appropriate. For example, Sandberg and White^{24/} performed an experiment in which they gave two groups of fifth and sixth graders descriptions of fictitious occupations of the future. Each group received a series of job descriptions including a picture of a person in that occupation. The gender of the person in the picture was varied between the two groups. Students were asked to state whether they would be interested in the job and to rate the importance of each job. Both boys and girls showed more interest in occupations illustrated with people of their own sex than in others. The gender of the model did not affect the importance that students attached to the occupation.

The importance of role models lends significance to the fact that the labor force within the school system itself is probably even more sex segregated than the rest of the labor force. Advancement in elementary and secondary education generally requires leaving teaching and moving into administration. Yet, while women greatly outnumber men in the teaching profession, women hold a small percentage of the administrative positions and that percentage has been declining during the last twenty years.^{25/} Women constitute the largest percentage at the lowest level of administration. Only 19.6 percent of elementary school principals are women; 2.9 percent of junior high principals and 1.4 percent of senior high principals. Substantially less than 1 percent (65 out of 13,037) school superintendents were women in 1972-73.^{26/}

^{24/}Described in *ibid.*, p. 40.

^{25/}Patricia Palmieri and Charol Smith Shakeshaft, "Up the Front Staircase: A Proposal for Women to Achieve Parity with Men in The Field of Educational Administration," *Journal of NAWDAC (National Association of Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors (Spring 1976): 58.*

^{26/}Suzanne Howard, *Why Aren't Women Administering Our Schools? The Status of Women Public School Teachers and The Factors Hindering Their Promotion into Administration* (Washington, D.C.: National Council of Administrative Women in Education, 1975), p. 49.

Within high school teaching, women are clustered in English, foreign languages, and home economics. Men are clustered in math, science, and the social sciences. Status and prestige in teaching generally increases with the age of the students being taught. National Education Association data reported for 1972-73 showed that about two-thirds of male teachers were in high school and that males were a majority (53.6 percent) of the teaching population at that level. Women continued to make up the overwhelming majority (83.5 percent) of the elementary teaching force.^{27/}

In summary, role models help shape individuals' views about appropriate roles for themselves. The employment of men and women in the education system, both in administration and in teaching, is heavily segregated by sex. Reducing this occupational segregation could contribute to sex equity among administrators and teachers, as well as modifying the sex-stereotyped attitudes and aspirations of their students.

4. Counselors and Counseling

Counselors are in a position to encourage students to take particular courses. In some large school systems, counselors are heavily involved in scheduling student courses and in determining which pupils are placed in which classes.^{28/} Several studies^{29/} suggest that counselors seldom encourage girls to take nontraditional courses. Generally, these studies do not show that women are actively discouraged from taking nontraditional courses, but that those who express an interest in non-traditional courses are more often probed or questioned concerning their choices than those who choose traditional courses.

Some studies do find negative counselor reactions to girls who indicate nontraditional interests. Thomas and

^{27/}Ibid., p. 8.

^{28/}Ruth Love, remarks from National Commission for Employment Policy Conference: Education, Sex Equity, and Occupational Stereotyping, May 5-6, 1980.

^{29/}Steiger et al., Literature and Secondary Data Review, p. 147.

Seward found that counselors reacted more favorably to women who expressed traditional career goals than to those who expressed nontraditional goals.^{30/} Another study observed the behavior of counseling students. The students advised a coached female client trying to decide between engineering and education as a career. Eighty-one percent of the students advised the client to choose the female field.

Counselors frequently use career guidance tests to help students determine occupational aptitudes. The finding of considerable sex bias in such tests led the National Institute of Education to issue guidelines concerning the construction, use, and effects of career interest inventories. The Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Education is currently working with NIE on determining what constitutes sex neutrality in career guidance tests.

As with other forces in the schools, we do not suggest that counseling is the most crucial factor determining a student's selection of curriculum or courses. Especially in large schools the ratio of counselors to pupils is small and counselors tend to spend much of their time discussing personal problems with students. Hence, the amount of time that most students spend in individual counseling sessions is small.^{31/}

Nevertheless, counseling is a potential intervention mechanism. Where counseling currently has an impact appears to be in presenting the difficulties girls may encounter if they pursue nontraditional careers. This need not be discriminatory if it portrays these accurately. But girls should also be made aware of the low earnings they may encounter if they pursue traditional careers. Preservice and inservice training for counselors that includes information on sex bias and occupational segregation could help counselors provide a more balanced presentation of alternatives to students.

^{30/}Described in *ibid.*

^{31/}Schmidt found that the typical high school in the ten largest central city school districts provided 12 minutes per pupil per year of counseling services. All other high schools provided one-third of an hour per student. See William H. Schmidt, High School Counseling: Resources and Impact (Evanston, Ill.: ML-GROUP for Policy Studies in Education, 1980).

C. Conclusion

Section II of this chapter has addressed the ways that schools contribute to sex-role stereotyping. Biological differences between the sexes, and other social forces--family, the media, and peers--help shape childrens' views about appropriate sex roles, but none of them is so predominant as to preclude the possibility of change from other forces. Large changes, for example, have occurred recently in the work and education aspirations of young women, as shown in the 1979 Longitudinal Study of Young Americans.

In the 1979 NLS, only a fourth of 14-22 year old females in the survey reported that they wanted to be exclusively homemakers at age 35 compared to more than three-fifths of female respondents the same age in 1968. Conversely, only one of eight young women in 1968 expected to be working at age 35 and employed in a professional, technical or managerial occupation. More than two of five had such expectations in 1979.^{32/}

Given the large number of forces, both inside and outside schools that produce sex-role stereotyping, it would be unrealistic to expect that any single intervention (for example, removing sex bias from all first grade readers or making sure there is at least one female shop teacher in each school) would result in large changes in childrens' attitudes, much less in their behavior. Nevertheless, in the positive climate for affecting women's aspirations reported above, this appears to be a particularly appropriate time for the schools to help increase girls' occupational options.

We now turn to one kind of education program, vocational education, to explore the possibilities for implementing change for sex equity in education through Federal Government initiative.

^{32/}Michael E. Borus et al., Pathways to the Future: A Longitudinal Study of Young Americans, Preliminary Report: Youth and the Labor Market - 1979, paper prepared for U.S. Department of Labor, Youth Knowledge Development Report (Columbus: Ohio State University, Center for Human Resource Research, 1980), p. v.

III. WOMEN IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

We have seen that the schools contribute to sex-role stereotyping in several ways. We will now focus on vocational education for several reasons. First, it is a curriculum whose intent is to prepare individuals for work. Largely because of this employment linkage, it is the only high school curriculum that receives direct Federal funding.^{1/}

Second, while the Federal share in vocational education funding is only about one dollar in ten, nearly half of the Federal money that goes into secondary education comes through vocational education. Thus, if there is any place in secondary education the Federal government can be a force for positive change, it seems most likely to be in vocational education.

Third, to a greater degree than in any other education program the Federal government has already addressed sex equity in vocational education through congressional legislation. Sex equity is one of the four main goals of the Vocational Education Act as amended in 1976, and the Act contains extensive provisions designed to enable State vocational programs to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping.^{2/} This legislation appears to have the potential for helping women in vocational education in virtually all of the areas discussed in this chapter.

Our discussion of vocational education will begin with data on male-female differences in curriculum choice and in selection of program areas within vocational education. Clearly, there is a problem of sex segregation in program enrollments in vocational education. We then review research that links vocational education both at the secondary and postsecondary levels to

^{1/}90 Stat. 2178 says in part that each State receiving Federal vocational education funds must assure that such funds "will not be used for any program of vocational education (except personnel training programs...and homemaking programs) which cannot be demonstrated to prepare students for employment, be necessary to prepare individuals for successful completion of such a program, or be of significant assistance to individuals enrolled in making an informed and meaningful occupational choice as an integral part of a program of orientation and preparation. . . ."

^{2/}Title II regulations provide the following definitions. "Sex discrimination" means any action which limits or denies a person or a group of persons opportunities, privileges, roles, or rewards on the basis of sex. "Sex stereotyping" means attributing behaviors, abilities, interests, values, and roles to a person or group of persons on the basis of sex.

labor market outcomes for women. We also present evidence that certain programs have been successful at moving women into non-traditional training.

We then review the legislation that appears to have responded to the finding that vocational education can make a difference in combating occupational stereotyping. While sex-segregated enrollments continue in vocational education, some progress has been made. The major barrier to progress appears to be lack of enforcement of the legislation currently in place.

A. Curriculum Choice

Students in high school enter one of three high school tracks: academic, general, or vocational. There is no definitive theory of how students end up in the different tracks. The tracking model suggests that students are directed by the counseling process into certain courses and curricula.^{3/} The choice model attributes less importance to counseling and argues that students select their own courses and curricula, albeit not completely independently since the selection is conditioned by family and society. Clearly, the tracking model places more responsibility on the school system for influencing the occupations pursued by students than does the choice model. There is no general agreement that either model more accurately describes reality. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to pursue this important topic. We recognize curriculum choice as important and we present an overview of curriculum choice by race and sex. But the chapter concentrates on the treatment of students once they have entered the vocational education curriculum.

The National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972 provides estimates of the proportion of students in the high school tracks.^{4/} About 25 percent of high school seniors

^{3/}Arvil V. Adams, "The Impact of Occupational Education in Secondary Schools on Young Men and Young Women: A Review of Recent Research," in Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Stereotyping (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Employment Policy, 1980).

^{4/}Estimates of high school tracking have also been derived from the National Longitudinal Surveys of Young Americans sponsored by the Department of Labor. We deem the NLS Class of 72 survey to be superior for the purpose of specifying high school track of students because it does so by specifying high school track of students because it does so by analyzing courses taken rather than asking students to report their curriculum as done in the Labor Department surveys. See Annegret Harnischfeger and David E. Wiley, "High School Tracking and Vocational Stereotyping: Means of Socio-Economic Placement," in Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Stereotyping.

in 1972 were in the vocational track, 31 percent in the general track, and 44 percent in the academic track.

The breakdown by sex and race is shown in Table 4. In the vocational track both white and black females are overrepresented, while white males are underrepresented, and black males are in proportion to their enrollment in high school. In the general track, white females are considerably underrepresented, while white males are roughly in the same percentage as their percentage of all high school enrollments. Both male and female blacks are overrepresented in the general track. In the academic track, male and female whites are overrepresented, and male and female blacks are underrepresented.

B. Enrollment Data in Vocational Education

Vocational education is chosen by disproportionately many women, but there are many different programs in vocational education.^{5/} What programs do women enter?

^{5/}The evaluation of vocational education is made particularly difficult because much of the available data is inaccurate or ill-suited to the policy questions that need to be addressed. Administrative data, provided by the Department of Education through Office of Vocational and Adult Education annual statistical reports and the new Vocational Education Data System (VEDS), are of low quality. Among many problems, the data do not provide unduplicated counts of student enrollment and they do not distinguish accurately between students who take one or a few courses in vocational education and those who are truly taking a vocational education program. With the implementation of VEDS, continuity has been lost with the old data (however inaccurate) so that, for example, the Department is unable to present comparable statistics on the number of disadvantaged students served in vocational education in the last ten years.

The best data come from the national longitudinal surveys of students. But these surveys are not specifically designed to investigate the effects of vocational education on labor market and other outcomes.

Table 4. Percentage of Population of
High School Tracks by Sex and Race,
for High School Seniors, 1972.

	Academic	General	Vocational	Total
White - Male	45.3	41.8	35.6	41.7
Female	43.2	34.0	44.5	40.4
Total	88.5	75.8	80.1	82.2
Black - Male	2.3	6.1	4.4	4.1
Female	3.3	7.5	5.9	5.4
Total	5.6	13.6	10.3	9.5
Other - Male	3.4	5.0	5.0	4.3
Female	2.6	5.5	4.6	4.0
Total	6.0	10.5	9.6	8.3
Total - Male	51.0	52.9	45.0	50.1
Female	49.1	47.1	55.0	49.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

SOURCE: Harnischfeger and Wiley, "High School Tracking,"
Table 1.

Here we expand our data base to include vocational education students in postsecondary and adult education as well as those in high school.^{6/} In 1978, there were approximately 17 million enrollees in vocational education in all these kinds of institutions. Just over half were women. We are particularly interested in vocational education programs intended to prepare people for paid employment. Table 5 lists the different programs and their enrollments. Just under 46 percent of those in programs for paid employment were women. Women enroll disproportionately in programs not intended as preparation for paid employment. In particular, fully 35 percent of all women in vocational education in 1978 were in the consumer and homemaking program.

Furthermore, the table shows that within vocational education programs for paid employment there is extensive segregation by sex. Of the major program areas in vocational education, only one--distributive education (retail sales)--comes close to reflecting the overall proportion of women in vocational education. Every other category is at least 75 percent male or female. Females predominate in health, occupational home economics, and office programs, and males in agriculture, technical, and trades and industry programs. One should realize that within these broader categories there is further sex segregation. For example, apparel and accessories within the distributive category and cosmetology within the trades and industry category are predominantly female.

Postsecondary vocational education is more likely to be directed to employment-related programs. While slightly less than 50 percent of the 10 million secondary school enrollees in vocational education are in programs for employment, almost 85 percent of those in postsecondary training are in employment related programs. Of the seven program areas for employment, only one--agriculture--is disproportionately a high school program. At the other extreme, 93 percent of those in the technical area (electrical, mechanical technology, etc.), and 83 percent of those in the health area are in postsecondary programs. While postsecondary programs are more often employment-related

^{6/}Data from the Office of Vocational and Adult Education, Department of Education, (formerly Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, Office of Education) show that in 1978 approximately 61 percent of enrollments were in high schools, 13 percent in postsecondary institutions, and 26 percent in adult continuing education.

Table 5. Enrollment In Vocational Education By Program
For Program Year 1978, and Percentage Female by
Program, 1972, 1976 and 1978^{a/}

Programs	Total	Female	Percent Female 1978	Percent Female 1976	Percent Female 1972
Grand Total (Unduplicated)	16,704,926	8,419,428	50.4	51.2	55.3
For Employment	10,429,827	4,766,802	45.7	36.6	41.1
Agriculture	1,006,542	173,824	17.3	11.3	5.3
Distribution	962,009	495,738	51.5	40.8	45.2
Health	758,808	591,764	78.0	78.7	84.6
Occupational Home Ec	459,590	378,965	82.4	84.7	86.0
Office	3,312,475	2,506,368	75.6	75.1	76.3
Technical	527,681	93,001	17.6	11.3	9.7
Trades and Industry	3,402,722	527,142	15.4	12.7	11.6
Consumer and Homemaking	3,659,441	2,946,101	80.2	83.2	92.1
Special Programs	3,509,351	1,139,720	32.5	33.8	44.7
Guidance	1,508,189	702,036	46.5	48.8	**
Remedial	101,904	45,844	45.0	44.1	42.3
Industrial Arts	1,492,790	256,611	17.2	11.4	**
Other NE.C.	406,468	135,229	33.3	21.2	**

^{a/}Based on figures from U.S. Office of Education Summary Data for 1972, 1976 and 1978. As of January 1981, 1978 was the latest year for which the National Center for Education Statistics was able to provide national summary data for vocational education. Data collected by the Office for Civil Rights in the fall of 1979 from institutions with five or more vocational programs is not directly comparable to national summary data.

**Not provided in summary data for these categories in 1972.

SOURCE: U.S., Commissioner of Education, Status of Vocational Education in FY 1978, A Report to the Congress by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, (n.d.); U.S., Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education, Office of Adult, Vocational, Technical and Manpower Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Summary Data, Vocational Education, Program Year 1978 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, n.d.).

than secondary programs, females are a smaller proportion of those in postsecondary programs (50 percent vs. 40 percent).^{7/}

The American Institutes for Research (AIR) Study included a sample, collected in 1978, of approximately 3,300 vocational education students, half male and half female. Using data from this sample, the concentration of females in the seven major occupational areas were compared with data from two other sources: Office of Vocational and Adult Education (OVAE and formerly Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education) annual data and a special 1974 Office of Civil Rights Survey of area vocational schools.^{8/} This information is useful, both as a check on the accuracy of other data sources and as a possible indication of change over time.^{9/} The AIR study also disaggregated the enrollments within each of the seven broad occupational areas. This breakdown is important because it allows a determination of whether increased female enrollments in a particular broad category, such as trades and industry, occurred because more women enrolled in a predominantly female field like cosmetology or in a predominantly male field such as tool and die making.

The AIR data confirm that within occupational programs women continue to predominate and constitute over 75 percent of the enrollments in three areas: health, home economics, and business and office. Males continue to predominate and constitute over 75 percent of the enrollments in three areas: agriculture, trades and industry, and technical. The remaining category--distribution--was found to be about 40 percent female in the AIR sample, consistent with BOAE and OCR data.

The 1978 AIR data and 1978 BOAE data (the latest year for which there is published data) appear to converge on the following patterns. First, the apparent downturn in the concentration of women in business and office, occupational home economics, and health between 1972 and 1976 appears to

^{7/}Marilyn Steele, Women in Vocational Education, Project Baseline Supplemental Report, Report for Project Baseline (Washington, D.C.: Technical Education Research Services, Inc., 1974), p. 62.

^{8/}In September 1979, The Office of Civil Rights of the Department of Education conducted another survey of area vocational schools. While not strictly comparable to the 1974 OCR survey, the trends in female enrollments are similar to those shown in OVAE data.

^{9/}The AIR data and OCR data are not representative of all students who enroll in vocational education. Only students in public institutions that offer five or more vocational programs were sampled.

have leveled by 1978. Second, while the participation of women in traditionally male programs in agriculture and technical occupations has continued to increase modestly, the participation of women in predominantly male programs in trades and industry^{10/} has leveled off. Third, the movement of women into programs that had been predominantly male has been more marked than the movement of men into programs that had been predominantly female.^{11/}

One difficulty in assessing progress toward sex equity in vocational education is the determination of how quickly changes in enrollment should be expected. It appears that greater changes have been effected in the career aspirations of college-bound girls than in those of girls who do not go on to college. For example, the female percentage of law degrees conferred rose from 5 percent in 1969-70 to 29 percent in 1978-79, and the female percentage of medical degrees conferred rose from 8.4 percent in 1969-70 to 23 percent in 1978-79.^{12/} These changes are much more dramatic than enrollment changes found in vocational education programs.

C. Labor Market Effects of the Vocational Education Curriculum

To see if these enrollment patterns for females in vocational education affect occupational patterns for women, we need to know to what extent vocational education is effective in preparing people for particular occupations. It is quite difficult to evaluate "vocational education" because of the wide variety of institutions as well as the wide variety of programs grouped

^{10/}With 3.4 million enrollees in 1978, trades and industry is the largest program category in vocational education.

^{11/}Institute for Women's Concerns, "Increasing Sex Equity: A Study of the Impact of the 1976 Vocational Education Amendments on Sex Equity in Vocational Education," paper prepared for Joint Task Force on Sex Equity of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education and National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs (Washington, D.C.: Joint Task Force on Sex Equity, 1980), p. 21; American Institutes for Research, The Vocational Education Equity Study, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: American Institutes for Research, 1979), Laurie R. Harrison et al., vol. 1: Primary Data, p. 122.

^{12/}U.S., Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 1980 and unpublished data from forthcoming Digest of Educational Statistics, 1981 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, 1981).

under the heading vocational education. A summary of the conceptual and econometric difficulties involved in vocational education evaluation is included in the Commission's Fifth Annual Report.^{13/}

We will look first at evaluations of labor market outcomes of vocational education in the secondary schools and then at an evaluation of vocational education in postsecondary and adult education, where there are fewer and less satisfactory studies.

Vocational education could contribute to occupational desegregation for women by helping them train in nontraditional fields. Evidence to support this contention is mostly indirect. There has not been a systematic study of labor market outcomes for women who undertook vocational education in predominantly male programs, simply because so few women took such programs. Now that more women are enrolling in nontraditional vocational education programs, such a study could be very useful for policy purposes. In the meantime, we have evidence that vocational students do find jobs in their field shortly after finishing school.^{14/} This is indirect evidence that if more women trained for predominantly male jobs, a larger proportion of them would secure such jobs.

In addition, we have evidence on the effects of vocational education for women who took business and office training. This evidence comes from a useful class of evaluations of vocational education in the secondary schools that employ widely recognized national student data samples and compare outcomes for students in the three high school curricula: general, vocational, and academic. The studies generally attempt to control for preenrollment differences of students in the different curricula, such as scholastic aptitude and socioeconomic status. We will summarize the results of three extensive studies that provide separate analysis by sex. Two of these studies--Grasso and Shea (hereafter Grasso) and Hofferth--are based on the Labor Department funded surveys of young Americans. The third--Harnischfeger and Wiley (hereafter Harnischfeger)--is based on the National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972.

Grasso examined information obtained from 5,000 female students aged 14 to 24 in the National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Market Experience. These women were initially interviewed in 1968, and the Grasso study included the followup interviews through 1972. Grasso found that young black and white women who

^{13/}National Commission for Employment Policy, Expanding Employment Opportunities for Disadvantaged Youth, Fifth Annual Report, Report No. 9 (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Employment Policy, 1979).

^{14/}Borus et al., Pathways to the Future.

completed high school in the vocational program of business and office training, but did go on to college, received higher wages and experienced less unemployment than women in the general track. This was true even though the business and office students had sex-stereotyped job aspirations and were heavily employed in clerical jobs after high school. Unfortunately, insufficient data were available to test how women in non-business and office training within vocational education did, compared with those in other curricula.

Grasso also found that white women in the vocational curriculum were less likely to drop out of high school than their counterparts in the general curriculum, after correcting for differences in aptitude, socioeconomic level, and type of community. No difference was found in the dropout rate for black women in the two curricula.

Hofferth analyzed the same data base as Grasso, except she included data from the 1975 reinterview, thus allowing for longer term analysis. Hofferth looked at the experience of students 3, 5 and 10 years after they had (or, in the case of dropouts, would have) graduated from high school. Hofferth's findings are consistent with those of Grasso for the short run, that is, 4 and 5 years after high school, for females who did not later attend college. White women in the commercial curriculum (defined by Hofferth as equivalent to Grasso's business and office curriculum) had wages 8 percent higher than those in the general curriculum 5 years after high school. For black women there were no statistically significant wage effects with respect to curriculum 5 years after high school. Ten years after high school white women in an academic curriculum had 12 percent higher wages than either those in a general or in a commercial curriculum. Ten years later, there was no difference in wages for those in the general compared with those in the commercial curriculum. Surprisingly, black women in a commercial curriculum had wages 19 percent higher than those in the general curriculum 10 years (but not 5 years) after high school graduation.

The Grasso and Hofferth findings are suggestive, though not conclusive. For white females, a business and office curriculum appears to give a wage advantage 4 and 5 years after high school. This is associated with being hired for clerical jobs. Those in a business and office curriculum earn more than their counterparts in either an academic or a general curriculum. However, by 10 years after high school the wage advantage for business and office women has disappeared as their earnings profile has flattened over time. Meanwhile, the earnings profile for young women who took an academic curriculum has risen.

The results for black women are more difficult to interpret. Grasso found a positive short-run effect (4 years) for black women in a business and office curriculum; Hofferth found this positive effect only after 10 years, not after 5 years. It is possible that early childbearing by black females, reported in both the Grasso and Hofferth studies, delays entry into the labor force (and entry into clerical jobs) for black women.

In the Harnischfeger study, track participation was determined by an analysis of the courses taken by students. In this study, a clear advantage for females in the general track compared to the vocational track was found. General track females, both black and white, enjoyed higher wages and were less often unemployed 4 years after high school than their counterparts in the vocational curriculum. Black general track females earned higher wages on average (\$3.66 per hour) than white general track females (\$3.58 per hour), but were more than twice as likely to have been unemployed one or more times (25 percent for black females versus 11 percent for white females).

The Harnischfeger results are difficult to compare with those of Grasso and Hofferth, because Harnischfeger does not separate the vocational curriculum into those in business and office and those in other vocational curricula.^{15/} Since Hofferth found dramatic differences in wage consequences for the two groups, we have less confidence in the Harnischfeger results.^{16/}

There are several reasons to expect that postsecondary (including adult) vocational training may have more labor market benefits for enrollees than high school vocational education. Enrollment in vocational education in high school may be viewed as partially compulsory, inasmuch as students are generally required to remain in high school through the age of 16. Enrollment in postsecondary and adult vocational programs is optional. In addition, students in postsecondary training programs are older, and therefore more likely to have family responsibilities and a greater attachment to the labor force.

While postsecondary training might be expected to generate positive labor market returns for students, unfortunately there are no national comprehensive evaluations of postsecondary and adult education comparable in quality to those of secondary vocational education.^{17/} There is one thorough study of the

^{15/}For additional differences see Adams, "The Impact of Occupational Education," surveying the three studies.

^{16/}The Commission is currently sponsoring research that will try to distinguish between women who took business and office programs and women who took other vocational programs, especially those who took predominantly male programs.

^{17/}Two studies done by Wellford Wilms have attempted to fill this gap, but the studies have serious methodological and data problems. Wellford W. Wilms, Public and Proprietary Vocational Training (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, n.d.) and Vocational Education and Mobility: A Study of Public and Proprietary School Dropouts and Graduates, report submitted to National Institute of Education (Los Angeles: University of California, 1980).

factors which influence female participation in postsecondary area vocational training schools.^{18/} This study found that considerable barriers exist for females who hope to gain access to nontraditional occupations via postsecondary training in area vocational technical schools. However, there appear to be fewer barriers for women to move into mixed occupations (those occupations that correspond to vocational training categories that were 25.1 to 75.0 percent female in 1972). The study concludes that increasing the number of women in mixed training may be a good strategy for reducing the present overconcentration of women in traditional occupational training.

Summing up, there is evidence that occupational training is related to the jobs that individuals later take. In particular, women who train for business and office jobs tend to find employment in those fields. It seems likely that if more women trained for jobs predominantly held by males, occupational segregation would be reduced, and earnings of women would rise. We now consider the evidence on the ability of the schools to change student vocational program choices.

The AIR study addressed whether schools could make a difference in encouraging nontraditional enrollments, considering the powerful influences of sex-role socialization on the aspirations of young people. The study found "a strong positive correlation between the level of equity activity in a school and the proportion of nontraditional enrollment in that school."^{19/} When schools conducted programs to encourage students to enter nontraditional programs, more students did so. Of course, correlation does not imply causality, and this finding is only suggestive. It would be quite useful to have this finding corroborated by additional studies, and to learn which kinds of programs work best.

Volume III of the AIR study describes several programs and activities that appear to be successful at promoting sex equity in vocational education. The study notes, however, that at present there are few good models for reducing sex inequities in vocational programs.^{20/} One of four key policy recommendations made by the AIR contractors is that "A concerted effort

^{18/}Roslyn Kane, Pamela Frazee and Elizabeth Dee, A Study of the Factors Influencing the Participation of Women in Non-Traditional Occupations in Post-Secondary Area Vocational Training Schools, final report to U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1976).

^{19/}American Institutes for Research, Primary Data, p. 376.

^{20/}Ibid, p. 409.

must be made to identify and disseminate exemplary programs and strategies for overcoming sex inequities in vocational education."^{21/}

We argued in the first part of this chapter that role models are important in occupational choice. Individuals, to some extent, evaluate the appropriateness of jobs for themselves by their perception of the gender of incumbents in those jobs. In addition, sex equity may be more likely to be promoted if women are in positions of authority.

In terms of staffing, vocational education, like the education system as a whole, shows strong differentiation by sex. In 1979, 49 out of 50 state directors of vocational education were males. In the AIR study (data from 1978) 90 percent of the local directors of vocational education were males. Estimates of the percentage of female instructors by area are shown in Table 6, below. Overall, there are very few staff positions in teaching or administration within vocational education that are not sex segregated.

The AIR study also considered whether it is feasible for these staffing patterns to be changed by affirmative action. A statistically significant correlation was found between those schools with higher affirmative action activity indexes and those with higher proportions of nontraditional teachers.^{22/} Again, while correlation does not imply causality, this kind of finding is particularly important because it gives some hope that staffing patterns are not immutable.

So far, we have shown that there is substantial sex segregation in vocational education programs. It is likely that this sex segregation in training contributes to sex segregation in the labor force that is detrimental to women. It appears that schools can bring about changes in the kinds of programs that women enter. We turn now to the legislation to promote sex equity in vocational education, and consider whether extant legislation is sufficient to promote progress toward sex equity.

D. The Experience Under Title IX and the Sex Equity Provisions of the Vocational Education Act as Amended in 1976

Beginning with title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, color or national origin in any activity receiving Federal financial assistance, the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (now Department of Education) has

^{21/}Ibid., p. 409.

^{22/}Ibid., p. 377.

Table 6. Percent Female Instructors by Major Program Area

	1974 OCR	1979 OCR	AIR Study
Health Occupations	88.8	83.4	95.5
Home Economics	84.4	89.9	87.7
Business & Office	53.3	62.6	69.8
Distributive Education	26.9	27.4	25.4
Technical Occupations	8.3	9.2	4.3
Trade & Industrial	9.1	8.7	5.5
Agriculture	5.0	12.3	12.3

SOURCES: National Center for Educational Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, 1980, p. 59; American Institutes for Research, p. 377.

had the authority to bring sanctions against recipients of Federal vocational education funds who engage in discriminatory practices. However, the Office of Education paid virtually no attention to problems of discrimination in vocational education during the 1960's. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 expanded the Office of Education's responsibility for enforcement of civil rights legislation by prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex in education programs receiving or benefiting from Federal financial assistance. As with title VI, the Office of Education failed to develop procedures for enforcing the legislation.^{23/}

In 1973, HEW was sued for failure to enforce title VI in a number of education areas, including vocational education (Adams v. Califano). As a result of this litigation, the Department was directed by the court to enforce civil rights requirements in vocational educational programs through compliance reviews, a survey of enrollments and related data, and the issuance of guidelines explaining the application of title VI and title IX regulations to vocational education.

Formal compliance with civil rights legislation may not, by itself, be sufficient to move toward sex equity in vocational education. Considering the lengthy history of sex-segregated patterns in vocational education and in the labor force, these patterns are likely to be continued by sex-stereotyped attitudes of students and staff even when the most blatantly discriminatory practices (like separate sex vocational technical schools) are corrected by enforcement of title IX. If sex-stereotyped patterns that limit labor productivity and the fulfillment of all individuals are to be changed, students must be exposed to different career opportunities to provide the equal opportunity to which the law entitles them.

Congress responded to the criticism of HEW's failure to apply title IX to vocational education. As part of its oversight hearings preparatory to reauthorization of the

^{23/}A steady stream of criticism has been directed at HEW's enforcement action. Examples listed in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Enforcing Title IX include: A suit filed by the Women's Equity Action League (WEAL) and others against HEW, WEAL v. Weinberger, Civ. No. 74-1720 (D.D.C., filed Nov. 26, 1974); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, The Federal Civil Rights Enforcement Effort--1974, vol III, To Ensure Equal Educational Opportunity (1975); Project on Equal Education Rights, NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund, Stalled at the Start: Government Action on Sex Bias in the Schools, (1978); Southeastern Public Education Program of the American Friends Service Committee, Almost as Fairly: The First Year of Title IX Implementation in Six Southern States (1977). The most recent material is in U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Enforcing Title IX A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, October 1980).

Vocational Education Act, the House Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor held hearings in 1975 on "Sex Discrimination and Sex Stereotyping in Vocational Education."

The need for a positive program to combat sex inequity in vocational education was reflected both in the testimony given at the hearings and in the legislation that emerged.^{24/} Testimony at the sex equity hearings was quite forceful and, with the backup materials and data on sex stereotyping in vocational education, was quite persuasive to the committee members.^{25/} The Vocational Education Act as amended in 1976 is very specific in both the emphasis to be placed on sex equity and on a variety of mechanisms for encouraging States to promote sex equity in their uses of Federal funds. One of the four major purposes of the Act is "to develop and carry out such programs of vocational education within each State so as to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping in vocational education programs..."^{26/}

The specific provisions are primarily directed toward the States. There are five major requirements placed on State vocational programs. In abbreviated form, these are:

- (1) Designation of a full time Sex Equity Coordinator.
- (2) Inclusion in its Five Year Plan for vocational education of policies and procedures to assure equal access to programs by men and women and to overcome sex bias, sex stereotyping, and sex discrimination.
- (3) Inclusion in its Annual Plan of a report on compliance as described in the Five Year Plan.
- (4) Assurance of representation of women's issues on State and local vocational education advisory councils.

^{24/}Several witnesses pointed out that the only language in the vocational education legislation pertaining to sex equity was a general prohibition: "Federal financial assistance is also subject to the provision of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (prohibition of sex discrimination) and any regulations issued thereunder."

^{25/}As an example, five recommendations made by attorneys Schiffer and Greenberger of the Center for Law and Social Policy were all incorporated in the Vocational Education Act as amended in 1976. In addition to her testimony, an extensive and carefully documented report was submitted by Marilyn Steele, Women in Vocational Education.

^{26/}Education Amendments of 1976, United States Code, title 20, sec. 1001, note, p. 2169.

- (5) Collection of data and evaluation of programs for service to women.^{27/}

While the vocational education sex equity provisions are quite ambitious, and while we know that some programs are successful in moving women into nontraditional training, the data presented in the first part of this section on enrollment patterns in vocational education indicate that large shifts in enrollment cannot be expected quickly. One caveat that applies to all of the currently available evaluations is that the regulations for implementing the 1976 legislation were not available until October 1977. Hence, more time may be necessary to generate data for a satisfactory evaluation. Nevertheless, the evaluations and data currently available indicate that there has not been a vigorous enforcement effort.

Clearly, the legislation has given the States a large job to do in making progress toward sex equity in vocational education. We will now turn to evidence concerning the experience under the 1976 amendments, drawing on four major sources: the congressionally mandated Vocational Education Equity Study; a report commissioned by the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education and the National Advisory Commission on Women's Educational Programs; a report to Congress by the U. S. Office of Education entitled Status of Vocational Education in 1978; and a report prepared by the American Civil Liberties Union in Georgia entitled The Unfulfilled Promise of Vocational Education, July 1980. We will also draw on materials prepared for the Commission's Conference on Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Stereotyping held May 5 and 6, 1980.^{28/}

The American Institutes for Research, under a contract from the Commissioner of Education, published its study of sex equity in vocational education in December 1979. Portions of this report have been referred to earlier. Besides culling the literature and secondary data sources, the study generated its

^{27/} Ibid., p. 2172-2176.

^{28/} The Conference agenda is reprinted in Appendix A to this report. A special report of the Commission on this conference, Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Stereotyping, is forthcoming.

own primary data collected in the spring of 1978.^{29/} Since, as noted, the regulations for implementing the sex equity provisions of the 1976 Vocational Education Act were not published until October 1977, only 8 months had passed for implementing the legislation at the time AIR began its study.

Table 7, taken from the AIR report, reflects the responses of State directors of vocational education to questions pertaining to implementation of specific provisions of the legislation. AIR concludes that "at the state level there is much greater effort in terms of review and monitoring than in terms of action to overcome inequities." While two-thirds of the State directors said that they had begun to take action to correct problems that had been discovered, six State directors neither said that they had begun to implement corrective action nor that they intended to.

Table 8 summarizes the responses of local directors of vocational education concerning activities to eliminate sex inequities. The pattern revealed at the local level is similar to that at the State level: that is, local directors reported more activity in the areas of monitoring and review than in specific programs for students, employers, or community organizations. It might be that insufficient time had elapsed to evaluate implementation of the 1976 amendments. Nevertheless, the failure to implement title IX, whose implementing regulations had been available since June 1975, may indicate a continuing lack of response to legislation including the 1976 amendments. Along these lines, AIR reports:

All LEA Directors were asked if their agencies had conducted self-evaluations in response to Title IX which included vocational education. Eighty-one

^{29/}The primary data collection involved the following. "Visits were made to departments of education in 49 states plus the District of Columbia. At each, structured interviews were conducted with the state director of vocational education, the state equity coordinator, and with staff responsible for occupational program areas, counseling, vocational advisory councils, professional development and evaluation. In addition, a stratified random sample of 100 schools was selected and visited. Sampling variables included geographical region, size of city population, and type of vocational school (comprehensive high school, vocational high school, vocational center, technical institute, and junior/community college). For each school in the sample, visits were also made to that school's district office and interviews were conducted with the district director of vocational education and the director of guidance and counseling." See Laurie R. Harrison, "The AIR Study of Sex Equity in Vocational Education: Efforts of State and Local Education Agencies," in Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Stereotyping.

Table 7. Percent of States Implementing Specific Provisions
of the Legislation: Responses of State Directors

(Percent)

Activity	Implementing	Intend to implement; not begun	No plans/ Do not know
Gather, Analyze, Disseminate Data on Students and Employees	66	28	6
Develop and Support Actions to Correct Problems Discovered Above	32	56	12
Gather and Disseminate Information to Create Awareness of Activities to Reduce Inequities	92	0	8
Review Distribution of Grants to Assure Women's Needs are Addressed	80	14	6
Review all the State's Vocational Education Programs for Sex Bias	62	36	2
Monitor the Implementation of Laws Prohibiting Discrimination in Hiring, Firing, Promotion	64	14	22
Review and provide recommendations for Annual Plan Regarding Overcoming Sex Inequities	50	42	8
Assist LEAs ^a / and Others to Improve Opportunities for Women:			
LEAs and community colleges	64	28	8
Teachers Training Institutions	46	26	28
Employers	22	32	46
Community Organizations	34	36	30

^a/LEA = Local Education Agency.

SOURCE: Harrison, "The AIR Study."

Table 8. Local Education Agency
Actions to Eliminate Inequities:
Responses of Local Directors

Activity	Percent Implementing
Gather, Analyze, Disseminate Data on Students and Employers	50.0
Gather and Disseminate Information to Create Awareness of Programs to Reduce Inequities	33.5
Monitor the Implementation of Laws prohibiting Discrimination in Staff Hiring, Firing, promoting	68.6
Review Funding Practices to Assure Guidelines Regarding Sex Equity are Carried Out	63.5
Sponsor Research and Evaluation Activities Related to Sex Equity	26.6
Sponsor programs to Make Students Aware of Inequities	29.6
Sponsor programs to Make Students Aware of or Encourage Them to Enter Nontraditional Programs	37.5
Sponsor special job development, placement, or Followup for Nontraditional Students	24.2
Make special guidance and Counseling Available to Nontraditional Students	26.6
Make daycare Services Available to Children of Vocational Students	23.8
Sponsor Programs for Employers or Community Organizations to Alert Them to the Problems of Inequity	20.8

SOURCE: Harrison, "The AIR Study."

percent indicated that they had done so, or were planning to, while 19% stated such evaluations had not been conducted or they were unaware of them if they had been done. These data indicated that relatively more districts have implemented Title IX reviews than activities related to addressing inequities as specified in the 1976 vocational education legislation. However, even these figures are lower than some might expect.^{30/}

Another study^{31/} examines efforts to promote sex equity in vocational education in 15 selected States. The 15 States accounted for 55 percent of all enrollments in vocational education. The materials reviewed included the sex equity portions of the 1980 State Plans and 1978 Accountability Reports,^{32/} and State office of vocational education responses to recommendations received at the public hearings. In addition, the study provided analysis of enrollment data and data on funds allocated compared with funds actually spent in pursuit of sex equity.

The study found that State Plans contained general statements of intent to promote sex equity, but infrequently contained specific methods for carrying out those intentions.^{33/} For example, only four of the 15 states required local education agencies to recruit men and women for nontraditional programs as a condition for the receipt of Federal vocational education funds.

The NACVE/NACWEP study found that it was difficult to determine from the State plans and reports how much incentive money was allocated and spent for sex equity purposes. This difficulty was due in part to the States' use of a wide variety of (a) mechanisms for distributing funds, and (b) definitions of incentives. In addition, Federal funds for program improvement

^{30/}Ibid.

^{31/}Institute for Women's Concerns, "Increasing Sex Equity: A Study of the Impact of the 1976 Vocational Education Amendments on Sex Equity in Vocational Education." Paper prepared for Joint Task Force on Sex Equity of the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education and National Advisory Council on Women's Educational Programs (Washington, D.C.: Joint Task Force on Sex Equity, 1980).

^{32/}These documents are required by the Vocational Education Act for all States that received Federal vocational educational funds.

^{33/}Institute for Women's Concerns, "Increasing Sex Equity."

can be used for a variety of purposes, including sex equity, and it was often impossible to determine the extent to which projects or their components dealt with sex equity issues.

In several States a much larger allocation of funds for sex equity was made than actual expenditures.^{34/} It was found that in 1977-78, only seven of the 15 States spent the \$50,000 specifically allocated to the Sex Equity Coordinator's office. None of the remaining eight States carried over their balances to 1978-79, as they might have done. The report concludes that "the discrepancies between funds allocated and funds expended warrant considerable follow-up."^{35/}

Another finding was that many of the State Advisory Councils of Vocational Education or participants at public hearings on State plans recommended that in addition to the mandated \$50,000 of Federal money set aside for the Sex Equity Coordinator's activities, the State should fund programs to deal with sex equity issues. However, only about one-third of the States had actually spent additional funds.

The divergence between funds that may be used to promote sex equity and funds that are used to promote sex equity also stands out when one looks at the allocation and expenditure of Federal vocational education dollars. The Act authorized the Commissioner (now Secretary) of Education to make grants to the States to conduct a variety of activities designed to bring about improvements in vocational education programs. These include research, curriculum development, personnel training, vocational guidance, counseling, and exemplary and innovative programs. The Act further designates projects designed to overcome sex stereotyping and to promote sex equity as an objective in each of these categories. In program year 1978, \$64 million was distributed to the States for these activities,^{36/} but only \$1 million was used for grants to overcome sex bias.^{36/}

Another recent study on race and sex equity has been published by the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Georgia.^{37/} Sex stereotyping in program enrollment in vocational education in Georgia reflects that of the nation as

^{34/}For example, Ohio allocated \$42,000 for model projects in fiscal year 1978 but only spent \$2,000.

^{35/}Institute for Women's Concerns, "Increasing Sex Equity."

^{36/}Summary data for Vocational Education 1978, p. 161.

^{37/}Ginny Looney, The Unfulfilled Promise of Vocational Education: A Look At Sex and Race Equity in Georgia, report for the Vocational Education Monitoring Project of the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Georgia (Georgia: American Civil Liberties Union Foundation of Georgia, 1980).

a whole. Some movement of females into nontraditional programs in the secondary schools was noted, but there was very little movement of males into traditionally female programs. Postsecondary programs were found to be even more sex segregated than secondary programs.^{38/}

The study was critical of many aspects of implementation of the 1976 amendments, including the public hearing process for State plans and the failure to make sex equity a priority in the allocation of funds for exemplary and innovative projects. The study was particularly critical of the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education (now Office of Vocational and Adult Education) for adopting weak standards for accountability by the States and for approving weak standards for the implementation of sex equity at the local level. It was also critical of the Management Evaluations for Review, Compliance and Quality conducted by BOAE (now OVAE), charging that

the standards for compliance are set too low; insufficient evidence is accepted to prove compliance; there is not any decent followup of recommendations; and the timetable adopted for submitting findings to the State Department of Education is too slow to bring about change.^{39/}

The sex equity provisions of the 1976 Vocational Education Act were greeted with enthusiasm by many of the groups representing women's interests that had urged their enactment. More recently, these same groups have expressed pessimism about the impact of the amendments because of what they perceive as poor enforcement efforts.^{40/} From a legal perspective, the 1976 amendments appeared to complement the basic provisions of title IX and to provide an opportunity for the Department of Education to undertake a combined attack on sex inequity in vocational education through its Office for Civil Rights and its Office of Vocational and Adult Education. Title IX and its implementing regulations could be used by OCR to monitor the activities of local education agencies. Most of the provisions of the 1976 amendments were directed to the State and Federal levels. They affected local agencies indirectly by specifying priorities and

^{38/}Ibid., p. 13.

^{39/}Ibid., p. 59.

^{40/}NCEP Conference on Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Segregation.

procedures for State distribution of funds. Together OCR and OVAE could coordinate enforcement at both the local and State levels.^{41/}

The hope that a vigorous enforcement effort might result from Office of Civil Rights leverage at the local level and Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education (now Office of Vocational and Adult Education) leverage at the State level does not appear to have been realized. A recent report (October 1980) issued by the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights concludes that the Department of Education is still moving too slowly against sex discrimination in education. Present methods used by the Department's Office of Civil Rights to target and measure the effectiveness of new enforcement methods are held to be inadequate. The Civil Rights Commission urged the Secretary of Education to "promptly and aggressively assert the Department's strong commitment to ending discrimination against women in education."^{42/}

^{41/}As a result of litigation mentioned earlier, in March of 1979, OCR published further guidelines explaining the civil rights responsibilities of recipients of Federal vocational education funds. These guidelines were to supplement title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 and section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 for the handicapped. In July of 1979, the Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education (now Office of Vocational and Adult Education) and the Office for Civil Rights issued a joint memorandum to State vocational education officials explaining their responsibilities in even greater detail. The Office of Education issued extensive regulations on October 3, 1977, to implement the Vocational Education Act as amended in 1976. While extensive regulations have been published, enforcement still seems to be lagging. In July of 1979, BOAE (now OVAE) and OCR jointly issued a memorandum to the State officers responsible for vocational education directing them to prepare methods of administration for carrying out State civil rights obligations under previously issued guidelines. All of the States have now filed methods of administration with OVAE, and they have been forwarded to OCR. As of early 1981, most of the State methods of administration had been accepted, although approximately five States were still being questioned by the regional offices of OCR as to the acceptability of their proposed methods of administration. Thus, almost 5 years after the primary sex equity legislation was passed, enforcement still consists mainly of assuring compliance with administrative details.

^{42/}U.S., Commission on Civil Rights, Enforcing Title IX, A Report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, p. 35.

The Department of Education has acknowledged difficulties in securing compliance with the 1976 amendments and with title IX as it affects vocational education.^{43/} At the same time, the Department argues that it takes time to implement new regulations, and that States have moved toward compliance between 1978 and 1980.^{44/}

E. Conclusion

The prospects for progress toward sex equity in vocational education are mixed. There appears to be slow but discernible progress in moving women into training in agricultural and technical fields, but very little change in the proportion of women in the two largest programs for paid employment, business and office, and trades and industry. Evaluations of the implementation of the 1976 sex equity provisions of the Vocational Education Act indicate only slow progress toward compliance. This is unfortunate since there is evidence of progress toward non-traditional enrollments in schools where the legislation had been enforced. At the same time, more examples of successful programs are needed.

^{43/}U.S., Commission of Education, Status of Vocational Education, p. 38.

^{44/}Private correspondence with Joseph H. Casello, Chairman, Management Evaluation Review, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Vocational and Adult Education, December 4, 1980.

CHAPTER 3. THE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN IN FEDERALLY SPONSORED EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS*

I. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on ways that Federally sponsored employment and training programs could be more effective in improving the labor market earnings of disadvantaged women. We chose to focus on these programs as mechanisms for improving the earnings of disadvantaged women for several reasons. First, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and related programs have the potential for serving the most disadvantaged segments of the female population. Second, these programs can have a major effect on participants' subsequent earnings. Third, CETA will be considered for reauthorization in 1982 and one of the issues may be the extent to which it has been and could be useful in helping disadvantaged women.

In this chapter, we present aspects of the legislation and regulations which indicate the quantity and quality of services that ought to be provided to women. Next, to document the experience of women in these programs, we draw extensively on Commission-sponsored research. Last, we discuss barriers to using these programs more effectively to improve the earnings of disadvantaged women and ways to overcome these barriers.

There are several aspects of the CETA law, amendments, and regulations that suggest that it could be a particularly useful tool for increasing the earnings of disadvantaged women. The initial paragraph of the law describing the purpose of CETA states that it should increase the earned income of economically disadvantaged persons and enhance their self-sufficiency. The law also states that prime sponsors ought to overcome sex stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment. By this language one might infer that the CETA system is expected to do more than merely replicate the sex-segregated work force as we know it, by attempting to (1) expose women to nontraditional career options, and (2) overcome additional barriers to the employment of women (such as child care, transportation to work, etc.). The May 1980 regulations stipulate that prime sponsors should take affirmative steps to train and place women in nontraditionally female jobs (and males in nontraditionally male jobs). In addition, the law states that prime sponsors, in the process of making their master and annual plans, should identify significant segments of their eligible population and serve them equitably. (Significant segments

*The author of this chapter is Wendy Wolf.

are groups of the population identified in terms of the following demographic characteristics: age, sex, race, and national origin.) Since there are many more persons eligible for CETA than there are slots for participants, equitable service does not mean that anyone who is eligible to participate will be able to do so. Rather, it means that each significant segment should be served at a rate comparable to its proportion of the eligible population. It should be noted that the amended CETA law and recent regulations are considerable improvements over the original CETA law in that they are more specific concerning steps that prime sponsors should take to improve services to women in the programs.

Thus, CETA law and regulations provide some guidance about the quantity and quality of services that ought to be provided to women by the CETA system. Since women are a significant segment, they are supposed to be served in proportion to their representation in the eligible population. While the law is more ambiguous about the issue of quality of services, numerous aspects of the law suggest what quality of services should be provided to women. The law states that the program is to enhance self-sufficiency.

Whether federally sponsored employment and training programs as currently constituted can have an impact on women's self-sufficiency is an important issue. Most Federal employment and training programs (CETA, Work Incentive (WIN) program, and the welfare demonstrations) have strong work fare components; that is, the placement of a participant in a job, any job, is a high priority. This emphasis has the effect of reducing short-run dependency by temporarily placing women in jobs. However, its effect on long-run dependency is unknown. One could argue that in order to have any effect on long-run dependency, women must be trained for and placed in jobs that offer at least as much financial remuneration as that which they would receive from welfare and other transfer payments. In short, an extensive training component and placement in higher paying, nontraditionally female jobs may have larger impacts on women's long-run self-sufficiency than would immediate placement in a traditionally female job.

To date, there has been limited monitoring and evaluation of the types of services received by women, and their

occupational assignments.^{1/} As a first step in ascertaining how Federal employment and training programs might be more effectively used to improve the labor market situation of disadvantaged women, it is necessary to understand the nature and extent of involvement of women in these programs. Our description of women's experience in these programs involved compiling information from the extant studies and sponsoring outside research to fill in the gaps of knowledge. Our description of the experience of women in the employment and training programs shall focus on the quantity and quality of services to women in CETA programs run by State and local governments, title IIIA of CETA, and WIN.

^{1/}The most useful works thus far are: U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Office of Program Evaluation, Females Enrolled in Decentralized CETA Programs (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980) and Westat, Inc., Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey, various reports, working papers, and followup reports (Rockville, Md.: Westat, Inc., 1976-1980).

II. DESCRIPTION OF THE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN IN FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

A. CETA Programs Run by State and Local Governments

The first stage of our description of the experience of women in Federal employment and training programs is to inspect the quantity and quality of services delivered to women in CETA. By quantity, we mean access to participation in the programs. In our concern with the quality of services provided, we inspect the types of services provided with a special emphasis on the extent to which they will have an impact on participants' long-run self-sufficiency. Here, we focus on Titles IIB (Services for the Economically Disadvantaged), IID (Transitional Employment Opportunities for the Economically Disadvantaged), and VI (Countercyclical Public Service Employment Program); Title IIIA (Special National Programs and Activities) will be discussed in a later section since it is administered at the national level.

When considering the quantity of services provided to women, one should compare the percentage that women are of the participants to their percentage of the eligible population. Table 1 provides such a comparison, for both the pre- and post-1978 reauthorization period. Since the eligibility estimates can vary depending on the data sets and assumptions used to produce them, we present a number of different eligibility estimates. However, the conclusions are the same regardless of the eligibility estimates used. Furthermore, we present these estimates separately by title since eligibility varies by title. In the non-Public Service Employment (PSE) titles where most of the training occurs (I and IIB), women's participation level approximates their proportion of the eligible population. In contrast, women are and have been underrepresented in PSE (titles II, VI, VIA and VIB pre-reauthorization and titles IID and VI post-reauthorization). While the underrepresentation of women in PSE was more severe in the pre-1978 reauthorization period, it is still marked in the post-reauthorization period, despite large increases in the participation of women in PSE.

How does one judge whether this underrepresentation of women in the PSE titles is substantial? One option is to use the criterion that is applied to individual prime sponsors; that is, if service levels by prime sponsors to a significant segment differ by more than 15 percent from the levels set forth in the plans, corrective actions must be taken by the prime sponsor unless sufficient justification of the variance

Table 1. Women as Percent of Those Eligible for
and/or Participating in Selected Titles of CETA
by Fiscal Year

<u>Pre-Reauthorization</u>					
	<u>Title I</u>		<u>Title II/VIA</u>	<u>Title VIB</u>	
Women as Percent of Those Eligible (ages 18-65) (can be applied to 1976-1978) <u>a/</u>	54.9		59.2	64.9	
			<u>Title II</u>	<u>Title VI</u>	
Women as Percent of Those Participating in Adult- oriented Program 1978 <u>b/</u>	51.0		42.0	37.0	
	<u>CTc/</u>	<u>OJTc/</u>	<u>AWEc/</u>		
	60.0	36.0	56.0		
<u>Post-Reauthorization</u>					
	<u>Title IIB</u>		<u>Title IID</u>	<u>Title VI</u>	
Women as Percent of Eligible 14+ 1979-80 <u>d/</u>	CT	OJT	AWE	64.0	63.0
	58.0	58.0	58.0		
Women as Percent of Participants all Ages 1979 <u>e/</u>	60.0	37.0	59.0	48.0	
Women as Percent of Those Participating all Ages 1980 <u>f/</u>	-	-	-	51.0	45.0

a/William Barnes, "Target Groups," in CETA: An Analysis of the Issues, National Commission for Manpower Policy, Special Report 23 (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Manpower Policy, May 1978) pp. 103-104. Data are based on the 1976 Survey of Income and Education. The numbers represent persons eligible at some point during 1975, according to the eligibility

rules implemented in early 1978. Title VI, even though it was not divided until fiscal year 1978 into title VIA (PSE sustainment) and title VIB (PSE nonsustainment), was separated by Barnes in his estimates for the eligible population in 1975. These eligibility estimates are clearly rough. To be used for fiscal years 1976-1978, one must assume that 1975 population estimates applied to 1976-1978 and that the 1978 eligibility criteria applied to 1976-1978. These assumptions are more reasonable for fiscal year 1978 than for fiscal year 1977 or fiscal year 1976.

b/U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Office of Program Evaluation, Females Enrolled in Decentralized CETA Programs, p. 22. Data are from the CLMS.

c/CT is classroom training; OJT is on-the-job training; AWE is Adult Work Experience.

d/Malcolm Cohen and Charles Mueller for the Department of Labor. The data used are the 1976 Survey of Income and Education, March 1977 Current Population Survey, and March 1978 Current Population Survey. Programs and eligibility requirements used are those from post-reauthorized legislation. In order to use these for 1979-1980, one must assume there was little population change from 1978 to fiscal year 1979 and fiscal year 1980. The Congressional Budget Office paper cited in footnote f/ provides eligibility estimates for titles IID and VI for fiscal year 1980. The estimates are essentially identical to those provided by Cohen and Mueller.

e/U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Office of Program Evaluation, Females Enrolled in Decentralized CETA Programs.

f/Congressional Budget Office, "Changes in the PSE Eligible and Participating Populations after the 1978 CETA Reauthorization," unpublished (1980), p. 21. The eligible population is estimated using the March 1978 Current Population Survey. The number of participants is based on Department of Labor estimates as of April 18, 1980.

is provided. By this criterion, the PSE programs on a national level are underserving women, even in the post-reauthorization period.^{1/}

It is not obvious that this underrepresentation is inequity. The underrepresentation of females could result from differential demand for PSE jobs among men and women. It is possible that the proportion of those eligible for PSE who are female overestimates those who are eligible and available for PSE jobs. First, many of the females eligible for PSE are recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) with children under 6 years of age who may not be interested in seeking full-time employment. Second, if these AFDC recipients enter PSE jobs, they may lose their welfare benefits or receive reduced benefits (including food stamps and medicaid). Third, the wage levels of PSE jobs, especially after the 1978 amendments, may not have sufficient economic attractiveness to female AFDC recipients, unless the jobs provide some training and lead to higher paying employment. Unfortunately, we have been unable to locate any research that inspects the demand for CETA services among men and women.^{2/} However, Berryman and Chow's results suggest that women's underrepresentation in PSE partially results from the fact that of those CETA participants who state that they want jobs, men are more likely than women to be assigned to PSE, whereas women are assigned at a higher rate than men to adult work experience.^{3/} This

^{1/}For example, compare title VI over the last two lines in the table. Fifteen percent of 63.5 is 9.5. Therefore, any underservice below 54 percent (63.5-9.5) requires justification. The actual participation rate is 45, a full nine points below the level that one would consider as underservice.

^{2/}In a prime sponsor jurisdiction under consent decree (requiring that the prime sponsor serve women equitably), the prime sponsor has not had problems in increasing the participation of women up to their proportion of the eligible population. This observation can be found in Carmen Estrada, "Comments on Barriers to Effectively Using Employment and Training Programs to Improve the Self-Sufficiency of Women," in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs, National Commission for Employment Policy Special Report 39 (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Employment Policy, forthcoming 1981).

^{3/}Sue Berryman and Winston Chow, "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?" in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

evidence further suggests that the differential demand for CETA services may not be a complete explanation for the underrepresentation of women in PSE.

Aspects of the quality of CETA services include: the type of activity (classroom training, on-the-job training (OJT), adult work experience, public service employment); the occupation trained for or placed in; and the program wages. One would like to know the inprogram and postprogram benefits of each different type of activity to assess whether the observed sex differences in type of activity warrant corrective policy actions. The Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS) and a report by Finifter^{4/} do provide some insights but the conclusions are still tentative. However, some comparisons can be made. On-the-job training integrates the participant into the labor force more than does classroom training. PSE seems to be preferable to adult work experience since PSE jobs are intended to lead to unsubsidized employment, whereas adult work experience jobs are shorter in duration, more likely than PSE to be part time, and lower paying than PSE jobs.

In addition to providing information on quantity of services to women, Table 1 provides some insights into program assignment within CETA. Females are more likely to be assigned to classroom training and adult work experience programs and less likely to be assigned to on-the-job training and public service employment. Furthermore, Berryman and Chow state:

We find the same basic results even when we control on selected background characteristics that might affect activity assignment. Female youth also show patterns quite similar to those of adult females, even though theoretically they should differ less from their male counterparts than adult females might differ from adult males.^{5/}

It could be argued that the observed differences in program assignment result from differential preferences of men and women. While the data suggest that most participants in CETA receive the kind of activity that they want, there is evidence that (1) among those who want job training, females are much more likely than males to be assigned to classroom training rather than on-the-job training, and (2) among those who want jobs, women are more likely than men to

^{4/}David H. Finifter, "A Longitudinal Analysis of CETA Participants' Earnings: Initial Evidence from Six CLMS Cohorts," mimeographed (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1979).

^{5/}Berryman and Chow, "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?"

be assigned to adult work experience and men are more likely to be assigned to public service employment.^{6/} Table 2 ^{7/} from Berryman and Chow provides evidence on this point. They conclude:

However, the data suggest that, relative to men, CETA integrates women less into the workplace (classroom training rather than OJT) and less into "serious" jobs, i.e., ones intended as transitions to unsubsidized employment. At the same time, at least the classroom training/OJT difference may just reflect where training for traditional female jobs usually occurs. In this case any inequities resolve into occupational, not activity, assignment issues.^{8/}

This latter argument leads us to an inspection of the occupational distribution by sex of the job trained for or placed in within CETA. All data in occupational segregation in CETA pertains to the CETA job obtained through adult work experience or PSE. While it may have been more instructive to have inspected occupational segregation in the training components, these data were not available. Occupational segregation by sex is quite severe in CETA jobs, reflecting patterns in the U.S. labor force as a whole. The extent of occupational segregation is less severe for youth than for adult participants (see Table 3). From Table 3, we see that, from 1976 to 1978, some progress has been made in moving females into nontraditionally female jobs, but there is considerable room for improvement. We are concerned about occupational segregation by sex because it is one important force leading to women's lower earnings. This does not imply that all nontraditionally female jobs are jobs with high earnings and opportunities for upward mobility. To check whether the small reductions in occupational segregation have meant that women are being placed in "better"

^{6/}Ibid.

^{7/}This table is for all participants 22 years of age or older. All subsequent tables from Berryman and Chow will be from this age group. Whenever the patterns for youth differ from the adult patterns, we will comment on these differences. Furthermore, all tables from Berryman and Chow cover the 1976-1978 fiscal years. While we would have liked to have had more complete data from fiscal years 1979 and 1980, the CLMS data for those years have not been available for public use.

^{8/}Ibid.

Table 2. Adult Distribution of Obtained CETA Services
Within Desired Service, by Sex and Fiscal Year
(Percent)

Initial Program Assignment	Sex	Wanted Basic Skills			Wanted Job Training			Wanted a Job		
		Fiscal			Fiscal			Fiscal		
		1976	Year	1978	1976	Year	1978	1976	Year	1978
Classroom Training	Male	86.6		87.9	60.7		45.4	12.0		5.7
	Female	91.7		91.2	69.7		66.9	15.4		11.1
On-the-Job Training	Male	2.3		3.2	14.7		16.2	12.5		11.3
	Female	3.1		1.6	9.4		7.0	11.4		9.3
Adult Work Experience	Male	9.8		6.2	10.5		6.9	18.5		7.8
	Female	4.5		4.2	13.0		10.1	25.2		13.2
Public Service Employment ^{a/}	Male	1.2		2.7	14.2		31.5	57.0		75.2
	Female	0.7		3.0	7.9		16.0	48.0		66.4
Total	Male	4,791		5,942	53,024		70,266	189,402		308,341
	Female	9,931		15,228	54,438		80,270	114,356		221,559

NOTE: Only the participants who have expressed their desired CETA services are included in the tabulation.

^{a/}Includes PSE sustainment, PSE nonsustainment, and PSE unknown in fiscal year 1978.

SOURCE: Berryman and Chow, "CETA: Is it Equitable for Women?"

Table 3. Distribution Among Traditionally Male,
Female and Mixed CETA Jobs by Sex, Race,
and Fiscal Year, for Youth and Adults

Sex, Race	Traditional Jobs					
	Male a/ Fiscal Year		Female a/ Fiscal Year		Mixed Job a/ Fiscal Year	
	1976	1978	1976	1978	1976	1978
<u>Part A--Adults (age 22+)</u>						
Female	7.0	11.7	68.2	62.2	24.8	26.1
White	7.8	12.5	67.4	60.7	24.8	26.9
Black	4.9	11.0	70.2	63.2	24.9	25.8
Hispanic	3.5	8.2	71.4	72.0	25.1	19.8
Other	15.3	11.3	61.8	61.1	22.9	27.6
Male	71.5	69.7	6.5	10.0	22.0	20.3
White	72.9	70.2	6.4	8.9	20.7	20.9
Black	68.2	70.0	4.9	10.2	26.9	19.8
Hispanic	75.4	69.2	5.5	13.9	19.1	16.9
Other	56.1	60.8	18.3	18.9	25.5	20.3
<u>Part B--Youth (less than 22 years of age)</u>						
Female	13.0	20.1	67.1	57.1	19.9	22.8
White	18.6	24.0	59.9	57.2	21.5	18.7
Black	7.7	18.6	73.7	55.5	18.6	25.9
Hispanic	14.8	11.0	76.1	64.7	9.1	24.3
Other	11.3	25.1	41.2	55.3	47.5	19.6
Male	71.4	71.1	6.9	9.5	21.7	19.4
White	81.7	81.3	3.4	2.9	14.9	15.8
Black	65.4	62.4	8.9	14.2	25.7	23.4
Hispanic	52.7	61.3	12.9	20.8	34.4	17.9
Other	62.0	64.6	13.6	11.0	24.4	24.4

a/Berryman and Chow use the CETA regulation definition of traditional male, traditional female and (by inference) mixed occupations: females constitute less than 25 percent in a traditional male occupation; 25 to 74 percent in a mixed occupation; and greater than 75 percent in a traditional female occupation.

SOURCE: Berryman and Chow "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?"
Tables 6 and 7.

jobs, we inspect the occupational distributions of the CETA jobs of men and women over the same 3-year period (see Table 4). This table indicates that while the changes are not large, women are less likely over time to be assigned to clerical occupations and slightly more likely to be assigned to professional and craft occupations. Thus, the changes in occupational segregation by sex appear to be resulting in women being placed in occupations that have higher earnings.

Much of the occupational segregation by sex observed in job placement in CETA is a result of women's choices of traditionally female employment. There are numerous forces acting upon individuals to produce sex-segregated job choices.^{9/} How much occupational segregation in CETA job placement is a result of the choices of females? The CLMS, a followup study of CETA participants sponsored by the Department of Labor, reports the desired CETA job. In fiscal year 1976, 31.2 percent of the adult females desired a nontraditional job (that is, traditionally male or traditionally mixed); in fiscal year 1978, the comparable figure had risen to 44.9 percent. Table 5 provides evidence of the likelihood of women being placed in nontraditional jobs given that they had nontraditional aspirations. This table presents the sex typicality of CETA occupation placed through PSE or adult work experience, given the sex typicality of aspirations. In fiscal year 1976, 33 percent of women with nontraditional career aspirations were placed in traditionally female jobs; in fiscal year 1978, the figure had risen to 45 percent. (Note that these numbers are weighted averages of the numbers for those with aspirations for male and mixed occupations.) In short, substantial numbers of women who expressed a desire for a nontraditional occupation have been placed in traditionally female jobs; furthermore, the likelihood of this occurring is increasing over time. The proportion of women in CETA who desire nontraditional jobs has been rising at a

^{9/}See Linda J. Waite and Paula M. Hudis, The Development and Maintenance of a Segregated Labor Force: Review, Synthesis, Critique of Recent Research, report for National Commission for Employment Policy (Washington, D.C.: National Commission for Employment Policy, 1980) for a review of such forces.

Table 4. Distribution of CETA Job for Adults by
Census Occupations by Sex and by Fiscal Year
(Percent)

Census Occupations	Fiscal Year			
	1976		1978	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Professional, Technical, and Kindred Workers	14.0	17.0	15.4	21.3
Managers, Administrators, except Farm	5.1	3.3	4.1	3.1
Salesworkers	0.8	0.9	0.5	0.7
Clerical and Kindred Workers	5.5	53.6	8.6	47.6
Craftsmen and Kindred Workers	16.2	1.0	16.9	1.6
Operatives, except Transport	5.2	1.8	3.6	1.2
Transport Equipment Operatives	5.3	0.7	4.7	1.5
Nonfarm Laborers	25.4	1.3	26.7	3.6
Farmers and Farm Managers	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Farm Laborers and Supervisors	0.6	0.1	0.3	0.2
Service Workers, except Private Household	21.8	19.4	19.1	18.9
Private Household Workers	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.2

SOURCE: Berryman and Chow, "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?"
Table 8.

Table 5. Distribution of Sex Type of Desired CETA Job
and Sex Type of Obtained CETA Job Within Desired CETA Job

Fiscal Year Desired Job	Occupational Aspiration	Percent Who Obtained CETA Job		
	Percent With This Desire	Given Desired CETA Job		
		Traditional Jobs		
		Male	Female	Mixed Job
<u>Fiscal Year 1976</u>				
Traditional Male Job	5.4	56.9	26.2	16.9
Traditional Female Job	68.8	1.5	86.8	11.6
Mixed Job	25.9	5.6	34.2	60.1
<u>Fiscal Year 1978</u>				
Traditional Male Job	10.3	43.8	39.8	16.4
Traditional Female Job	55.1	7.4	73.8	18.8
Mixed Job	34.7	9.9	46.5	43.6

SOURCE: Berryman and Chow, "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?"
Tables 9 and 11.

faster rate than has the proportion of women in CETA placed in nontraditionally female jobs. This suggests that CETA is not keeping pace with the changes in the occupational aspirations of disadvantaged women.

One other point about choice is appropriate here. When the CETA legislation states that prime sponsors should overcome sex stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment, this can be interpreted as saying that the programs should counsel women and expose them to the different alternatives available. The rise in the nontraditional aspirations of CETA women may, in fact, reflect such counseling or may reflect changes in the society as a whole. But clearly, the figures suggest that nontraditionally female employment is not an anathema to disadvantaged women and that efforts in counseling women may be effective.

Our evidence on in-CETA program wages is not as complete as our evidence on type of activity and occupation placed in through CETA. Two studies suggest that inprogram CETA wages exhibit the same pattern of wage disparity by sex but are not as severe as the disparity in the labor market as a whole.^{10/} Another study suggests that the wage differences by sex in PSE jobs in the post-reauthorization period are not very large, presumably because there is not only a floor but also a ceiling on wages, thus producing very little variance in wages for either sex.^{11/}

As stated earlier, it would help policymakers to know postprogram impacts of different types of activities in order to determine whether the differences in program assignment by sex affect postprogram wages; this kind of evidence would help determine whether corrective policy action is necessary to remedy this differential program assignment. The earlier cited work on this topic is

^{10/}Berryman and Chow, "CETA: Is It Equitable for Women?" and U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Office of Program Evaluation, Females Enrolled in Decentralized CETA Programs.

^{11/}National Academy of Science, "CETA: Assessment of Public Service Employment Programs" (Washington, D.C.: The National Research Council, 1979), p. 197.

tentative and the conclusions are ambiguous. This is due, in part, to the fact that in order to do long-term impact studies, the researcher must follow the individual for several years after program participation. The CLMS was begun to provide a data source that would allow researchers to study postprogram impacts of various CETA activities. Currently, the National Commission for Employment Policy (NCEP) is involved in a project inspecting the long-run earnings benefits resulting from different CETA activities. Until this project and others like it being sponsored by the Employment and Training Administration are completed, one must rely on information from studies on earlier training programs. The two main issues in these studies have been the size of the effect and whether that effect is sustained over time. Two studies investigating the effects of the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) and JOBS programs in the late 1960's, showed that the program effects were more pronounced for women than for men; they found as well that these effects diminished over time.^{12/} Bloom, in a reanalysis of their data, found that these programs appeared to have had substantial, statistically significant, and sustained effects on the earnings of men and women.^{13/} An effort by Bloom is underway to reconcile the differences between his findings and those of Ashenfelter and Kiefer.

B. Title IIIA Programs

The next part of the investigation of women in Federal employment and training programs is to ascertain how women are served in title IIIA of CETA. Title IIIA was established to provide services under the direction of the Secretary of Labor to individuals and groups of particular concern to Congress. In fiscal year 1980 title IIIA received about 6 percent of the total CETA funds. Congress has mandated specific set-asides for native Americans and migrant farm

^{12/}Orley Ashenfelter, "Estimating the Effects of Training Programs on Earnings," The Review of Economics and Statistics 40, no. 1 (February 1978): 47-57; and Nicholas Kiefer, "The Economic Benefits from Four Government Training Programs," in Research in Labor Economics: Evaluating Manpower Training Programs, ed. F.E. Bloch (Connecticut: JAI Press, 1979), pp. 159-186.

^{13/}Howard Bloom, "The Long-Term Effect of Employment and Training Programs," in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

workers. In addition, the following special groups are mentioned as having special labor market problems and being in need of additional attention: ex-offenders, persons of limited English language proficiency, handicapped persons, women, single parents, displaced homemakers, youth, older workers, individuals who lack educational credentials, public assistance recipients, veterans, and other groups whom the Secretary deems to be in need of such services.

In addition to their designation as a group in need of attention, women make up the vast majority of a few groups (single parents, displaced homemakers, and public assistance recipients), a very small portion of two groups that are mentioned (veterans and ex-offenders) and about half of most other listed groups. It is impossible to determine precisely from the information maintained by the Office of National Programs what percentage of title IIIA funds is used for serving women or what percentage of those participating in title IIIA programs are women. However, some information can be gleaned from the 1980 funding plan (see Table 6) and the limited available information on some characteristics of program participants.

In the fiscal year 1980 funding plan, programs for native Americans and migrant and seasonal farm workers receive about half of the title IIIA funds. From the \$147 million remaining for the Secretary's discretionary use, four projects were awarded \$20 million or more: the Veterans Information and Outreach Project, the Targeted Outreach Projects (TOP), National-On-the-Job Training Projects (OJT), and Promotion and Development Projects. The Veteran's project obviously serves few women and the TOP and OJT projects each have goals of 20 percent female participation. Therefore, the projects receiving the largest and increasing amounts of discretionary title IIIA funds are not serving large numbers of women.

Four groups that are mentioned in title IIIA (individuals who lack educational credentials, public assistance recipients, youth, and single parents) have received no special funding under this title; women constitute the majority of two of these groups (single parents and public assistance recipients). Furthermore, the funding of the displaced homemaker projects

Table 6. CETA Title IIIA National Emphasis Programs and Funding Levels (In thousands)

	FY 1979 (Actual)	FY 1980 (Funding) Plan	FY 1980 <u>a/</u> (Estimated)	Estimated Percentage of Served Who are Women
<u>MANDATED: (Funded: Congressional Mandate Based on Title IIA, B, C)</u>				
Section 301 Native Americans	\$ 73,214	\$ 78,566	na	50
Section 303 Migrant and Seasonal Farm Workers	81,349	89,295	na	40
TOTAL	\$154,563	\$167,861	na	
<u>MANDATED (Funded)</u>				
Section 301(a),(b) (2) Offenders	\$ 860	\$ 2,750	\$ 4,903	na
Section 301(a),(b) (4) Handicapped	2,942	2,942	2,965	na
Section 301(a),(b) (4) Older Workers	20,150	10,000	8,450	na
Section 301(a),(b) (3) Persons with Limited English Speaking Ability	1,452	1,500	1,800	na
Section 301(b),(g) Small Business Workshops	na	750	750	na
Section 304 Job Search and Relocation Assistance	11,500	13,900	na	na
Section 305 Veterans Information and Outreach <u>b/</u>	24,867	26,600	29,275	na/but low
Section 306 Programs for the Handicapped <u>c/</u>	292	292	304	60
Section 307 Job Service Improvement	1,285	200	591	na
Section 308 Projects for Middle-Aged and Older Workers <u>d/</u>	678	2,678	2,678	na
Subtotal	\$ 64,026	\$ 61,612	\$ 51,716	
<u>MANDATED (Programs for Women)</u>				
Section 301 (a) (b) (1) Displaced Homemakers	\$ 15	\$ 4,985	\$ 4,985	na/but high
Section 301 (a) Women's Bureau	430	564	1,123	na/but high
Subtotal	\$ 445	\$ 5,549	\$ 6,108	

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Table 6. CETA Title IIIA National Emphasis Programs
and Funding Levels (In thousands)--Continued

Programs	FY 1979 (Actual)	FY 1980 (Funding Plan)	FY 1980 a/ (Estimated)	Estimated Percentage of Served Who are Women
<u>MANDATED (No Funding)</u>				
Section 301(a) Individuals Who Lack Education Credentials	0	0	0	na
Section 301(a) Public Assistance Recipients	0	0	0	na
Section 301(a),(b)(4) Youth	0	0	0	na
Section 301(a),(b)(4) Single Parents	0	0	0	na
<u>DISCRETIONARY</u>				
Targeted Outreach	\$ 19,532	\$ 20,032	\$ 23,129	25.2
National OJT	20,918	20,918	22,748	27.9
Promotion and Development	26,278	25,045	26,863	na
Community-Based Organizations	8,705	8,461	7,586	na
Apprenticeship Initiatives	1,394	3,305	4,332	some
CETA in the Arts	961	1,350	1,739	na
Rural Strategies	533	533	1,954	na
Computer Time Sharing	250	250	250	na
Special Demonstration Projects	0	0	792	na
Labor Surplus Area Outreach	0	0	200	na
Prime Sponsor Notification Project	0	0	150	na
Other	6,283	0	650	na
Subtotal	85,854	\$ 79,914	\$ 90,393	
TOTAL (Exclusive of Native Americans and Migrants and Seasonal Farm Workers)	\$150,325	\$147,075	\$148,217	
TOTAL (Including Native Americans and Migrants and Seasonal Farm Workers)	\$304,888	\$314,936	na	

a/This distribution will be subject to periodic readjustment during the remainder of FY 1980.

b/Estimated FY 1981 allocation of \$24,400,000. The House Bill for FY 1981 allocates \$21,175,000.

c/Estimated FY 1981 allocation of \$292,000. The House Bill for FY 1981 allocates \$524,000.

d/Estimated FY 1981 allocation of \$5,000,000. The House Bill of FY 1981 allocates \$4,339,000.

na - Not available.

SOURCE: Roslyn Kane, "Women and Title IIIA of CETA," in The Experience of Women in Federally
Sponsored Employment and Training Programs, Table 16 and text.

was at a level considerably lower than intended by Congress.^{14/} No women's organizations have been funded under "Operational Support to Community Based Organizations;" which provides support for the national headquarters of community-based organizations to provide technical assistance to their local affiliates on how to increase their receipt of regular CETA monies. Despite this dearth of evidence on program activities within title IIIA, women do not seem to be receiving a share of the resources that approximates their proportion of the special groups that are mentioned in title IIIA.

C. WIN Programs

In fiscal year 1980, women were 75 percent of Work Incentive (WIN) program registrants, 69 percent of those who found employment through WIN, and 57 percent of those who were able to leave welfare as a result of finding employment through WIN.^{15/} While many women may not go off welfare as a result of their WIN placement, their AFDC payments are reduced. On the other hand, men who work 100 hours a month automatically lose all benefits. This 100 hours rule may explain why many fewer women than men leave welfare as a result of a WIN placement. Occupational segregation and wage differentials by sex within WIN are substantial and mirror the general picture in the U.S. labor force. Since the inception of WIN, about 66 percent of women were placed in clerical, sales and service occupations, whereas only 20 percent of men were placed in such jobs. On the other hand, about 40 percent of the men were placed in employment in the machine trades, structural work, motor freight and transportation trades, whereas fewer than 7 percent of the women were placed in such jobs.^{16/} The occupational distributions by sex of job placements have changed little since the inception of the program. The relative wages of females to males have increased from 72 percent in 1972 to 77 percent in 1980.^{17/} Some of the sexual differentials result from the fact that

^{14/}Kane, "Women and Title IIIA of CETA."

^{15/}U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Report of the President (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1980) and unpublished calculations from the WIN office.

^{16/}Lorraine Underwood, "The Contribution of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program to the Self-Sufficiency of Women," in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

^{17/}Ibid.

men in WIN are more employable, on average, than are women in WIN.^{18/} While some of the differential results from the legislated preference for unemployed fathers, some probably results from the myriad forces pushing females into lower paying, traditionally female jobs.

^{18/}Ibid.

III. BARRIERS TO USING FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS TO IMPROVE THE LABOR MARKET SUCCESS OF DISADVANTAGED WOMEN

A. Introduction

The next step in the investigation of how Federal employment and training programs could be used more effectively to improve the labor market position of disadvantaged women is the identification of the existing barriers and ways to overcome them legislatively, programmatically, and administratively. Research sponsored by the Commission focused on the experience of women in these programs. We now have empirical evidence of the disparate program experiences of men and women and have identified certain barriers, but we lack precise empirical evidence on the extent to which each particular barrier is responsible for the disparities that exist.

B. CETA Programs Run by State and Local Governments

1. Quantity of Services

The law states that prime sponsors must identify the significant segments of their eligible population, as defined by sex, race/national origin, and age, and must serve them equitably; the concern for equitable service is supposed to be demonstrated not only in the plans but also in the actual level of service. A limited amount of monitoring of the prime sponsors is done by the Department of Labor to ascertain whether prime sponsors plan to serve significant segments equitably and whether the actual provision of services is equitable. Congress has been concerned with fraud and abuse in CETA programs, and the majority of monitoring has been in this area. Prime sponsors need to be monitored on their provision of services if significant segments are to be assured the services to which they are entitled by law.

To do so, the Department would need to take several steps: (1) the collection of complete data on participation by title and type of training by sex, race/national origin, and age, (2) the development of a well-defined process for the substantive monitoring of these programs, and (3) the development of a list of sanctions that might reasonably be imposed upon prime sponsors who repeatedly underserve significant segments and who refuse to take any corrective action. There is currently activity under way in the Employment and Training Administration to refine the "sanction" process so that the

CETA grant officer will be in a better position to impose the appropriate sanction for whatever infraction of the CETA grant/law that may occur. This list is not meant to exhaust steps that might be taken, but rather to suggest some of the necessary components of a substantive monitoring system.

Despite the fact that the law explicitly states that prime sponsors should serve significant segments equitably, other aspects of the law or regulations instruct prime sponsors to serve particular groups at a level unrelated to their proportion of the eligible population. That is, the regulations explicitly or implicitly give priority to other groups such as Vietnam-era veterans and youth.^{1/} Giving priority to certain groups conflicts with another intent of the law, which is to serve significant segments according to their percentage of the eligible population. Furthermore, overservice to each of these groups, Vietnam-era veterans, and youth, could result in an underservice to women.

Prior to the 1978 reauthorization, President Carter directed prime sponsors (as part of a larger package aiding Vietnam-era veterans) to have as a goal that 35 percent of the participants in PSE programs should be Vietnam-era veterans. Vietnam-era veterans were about 3 percent of those eligible for PSE programs during that year (see Table 7). In fiscal year 1978, Vietnam-era veterans were served in PSE jobs at a rate 2.6 times their proportion of the eligible population. While these goals did not apply after the 1978 amendments, an implicit preference remains.^{2/} In section 121 of the 1978 CETA legislation, the law states, "The Secretary shall take appropriate steps to provide for the increased participation of qualified disabled and Vietnam-era veterans ... in public service employment programs and job training opportunities supported under this Act, but nothing in this Act shall authorize the Secretary to establish a hiring or participation goal for such veterans." This

^{1/}Joan Wills, "The Evaluation of Plans of Prime Sponsors," in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

^{2/}Ibid.

Table 7. Vietnam-Era Veterans as a Percent of Those Eligible for and Those Participating in Titles of CETA

	<u>Title IIB</u>	<u>Title IID</u>	<u>Title VI</u>
Vietnam-Era Veterans as Percent of Those Eligible FY 1979, FY 1980 <u>a/</u>	3.0	2.6	2.9
	<u>Title I</u>	<u>Title II</u>	<u>Title VI</u>
Vietnam-Era Veterans as Percent of Those Participating in FY 1978 <u>b/</u>	3.7	6.5	7.8
Ratio of Vietnam-Era Veterans as Percent of Those Participating to Percent of Those Eligible in FY 1978	1.2	2.5	2.7
	<u>Title IIB</u>	<u>Title IID</u>	<u>Title VI</u>
Vietnam-Era Veterans as Percent of Those Participating in FY 1979 <u>c/</u>	3.7	5.5	6.2
Ratio of Vietnam-Era Veterans as Percent of Those Participating to Percent of Those Eligible in FY 1979	1.2	2.1	2.1

a/Malcolm Cohen and Charles Mueller for the Department of Labor. The data used are the 1976 Survey of Income and Education and March 1977 and March 1978 Current Population Surveys. The eligibility requirements are for the post-reauthorization period. These eligibility estimates are most appropriate for FY 1979.

b/U.S., Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Employment and Training Report of the President, 1979. Table F-7.

c/SOURCE: Employment and Training Report of the President, 1980, Table F-8.

may result in some underservice to women since they are a small proportion of Vietnam-era veterans. However, it cannot explain a large portion of the underrepresentation in the PSE titles, since Vietnam-era veterans were only about 6 percent of those receiving PSE jobs in fiscal year 1979.

Another example of a conflict between one aspect of the regulations and the achievement of equitable service is the regulation which fixes the minimum percentage of those youth participating in title II programs at the level that it was in fiscal year 1977. The purpose of this regulation was to ensure that the funding of title IV (Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP) in particular) did not result in decreased service to youth in title II. This regulation may have the effect of producing underservice to women since women are a larger proportion of those over 21 years of age who are eligible for title II programs than they are of the percentage of youth who are eligible (see Table 8). Fixing the minimum percentage of young participants, regardless of shifts in the characteristics of the eligible population and, in particular, the age structure, conflicts with the goal of equitable service. In summary, these examples suggest that prime sponsors are getting ambiguous directives from the Congress and the Department of Labor concerning equitable service.

Another aspect of the program that limits women's participation is the lack of incentives for prime sponsors to provide supportive services to those members of their eligible population who require them in order to participate in CETA activities. The CETA system is structured in a way that encourages prime sponsors to serve those who are least expensive to serve.^{3/} This results from the fact that performance assessment is based on cost per placement measures aggregated over the entire participating population. This acts as a disincentive to serve those who may cost more to serve even if they are more in need of services.^{4/} Some persons require supportive services such as child care, transportation, and counseling that would increase cost per placement. Many women (particularly single teenage

^{3/}Jeffrey Zornitsky and Margaret McNally, "Measuring the Effects of CETA on Women: Issues in Assessing Program Performance," in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

^{4/}Ibid.

Table 8. Women as a Percent of Those Eligible
in Fiscal Year 1979 and 1980 for CETA Programs
and Selected Titles by Youth/Nonyouth Status
(Percent)

	All Ages	Youth (Less than 22 years old)	Nonyouth (22 years of age and over)
Any CETA program	57	53	62
Title IIB/VII	58	53	63
Title IID	64	57	68

SOURCE: Malcolm Cohen and Charles Mueller for the Department of Labor. The data used are the 1976 Survey of Income and Education and the 1977 and 1978 March Current Population Surveys. Programs and eligibility requirements used are from the post-1978 amendments period.

mothers and other female heads of households) require such services, as do the handicapped and disabled veterans. Currently, a prime sponsor could fare well on performance measures by overserving those who are the least expensive and easiest to serve. Further, a prime sponsor whose eligible population has a smaller proportion of those who are more costly to serve will fare better on performance measures than a prime sponsor with a higher proportion of such persons.

Incentives could be built into the performance assessment system for prime sponsors to provide supportive services that enable the members of certain groups to participate. This might be achieved by having prime sponsors report their performance indicators separately for certain groups who cost more to serve, so that their performance indicators could not be boosted by overserving those who are cheapest to serve. Further, the performance assessment system could incorporate (or correct for) differences in the demographic composition of the eligible population, a factor that affects the performance standards commonly used. The Office of Performance Management of the Employment and Training Administration (DOL), in its efforts to produce a uniform performance assessment system, is attempting to deal with the fact that there are incentives for prime sponsors to serve those who are less expensive and easier to serve.

The costs of one of these supportive services, child care, need not be paid totally with CETA funds, as there are other possible sources of support for such activities. Funds from title XX of the Social Security Act can be used for child care services. However, the planning for these funds occurs at the State level, although in some States the State plans are merely compilations of county plans. CETA prime sponsors need to consider the State as a resource, especially for the funding of child care. If prime sponsors within a State joined together to participate in the title XX planning process, they might have more impact than an individual prime sponsor. Coordination of prime sponsors within a State for this purpose may have the added positive effect of encouraging linkages between prime sponsors and States on other issues such as WIN-CETA coordination. Other funding is available for child care for AFDC recipients. If the AFDC recipient's participation in CETA involves paid work, child care costs can be treated as a work-related expense and therefore would not count as earned income for the calculation of benefit reductions.

Another barrier to women's access to CETA programs is upper age limits on apprenticeships. While this is not primarily a CETA issue, these maximum age limits impede the access of female CETA participants to preapprenticeship programs operated through CETA. The upper age limits to apprenticeships are quite low, ranging from 22 to 26. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) has certified programs with upper age limits, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) has exempted them from jurisdiction of the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA), which prohibits discrimination on the basis of age from ages 40 to 70.

Women are more likely to be adversely affected by the upper age limits than are men for the following reasons.^{5/} First, many women who had been discriminated against when they applied at younger ages will apply at older ages,^{6/} now that access to apprenticeships is not as limited as it was 10 years ago.^{7/} Second, women may have more traditional career aspirations at very young ages when societal norms about appropriate behavior weigh heavily on them; by their mid- or late twenties, after they have worked at a low

^{5/}Joan Messing Graff (Equal Rights Advocates, Inc.), Maureen T. Thornton and Cynthia D. Hill (Litigation Department, League of Women Voters Education Fund), on behalf of Women in Apprenticeship Program, Women in Apprenticeship Project (sponsored by the State Communities Aid Association), and Wider Opportunities for Women, Petition to Amend 29 C.F.R. Part 30 to Prohibit the Use of Age Limits as Entrance Requirements in Registered Apprenticeship Programs, unpublished (June 1980); Norma Briggs, Women in Apprenticeship, Why Not?, U.S. Department of Labor Monograph No. 33 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1974); Roslyn Kane, Elizabeth Dee, and Joanne Miller, Problems of Women in Apprenticeship (Arlington, Virginia: Rj Associates, 1978); U.S., Department of Labor, "Women's Journey into Skilled Trades," Worklife 27 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, August 1977); U.S., Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Women's Guide to Apprenticeship (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1978).

^{6/}C.J. Jacobson, "New Challenges for Women Workers," AFL-CIO American Federationist 2 (April 1980).

^{7/}Unpublished tables from the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

paying job for some time and are more willing to go against societal norms, they may apply for apprenticeship programs. Last, many women do not work at all or work part time during their late teens and early twenties due to childbearing and childrearing; for some women, their interest in apprenticeships occurs after this period of interrupted employment. These upper age limits may have their most serious impact on disadvantaged women (e.g., minorities and teenage mothers). Some have made the argument that upper age limits to apprenticeships violate title VII of the Civil Rights Act because of their disparate impact on women.^{8/}

Minority men may also benefit from lifting the upper age limits to apprenticeships. Because of the nature of ghetto life, many minority males may not seek apprenticeships until older ages, as evidenced by the apprenticeship programs that have had to waive the upper age limit in order to meet their goal for minorities.

One group of men who are likely to apply at older ages, veterans, is frequently given an exclusion from the maximum age restriction. Since some older workers are excluded from the maximum age limits, employers would find it difficult to argue that they are justified on the grounds of business necessity.

Currently, the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training of the Department of Labor suggests that apprenticeship programs waive existing age limits to meet affirmative action obligations.^{9/} EEOC had proposed to stop exempting apprenticeship programs from the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (by a vote of 4-1 in the fall of 1980); however, a subsequent tie vote in January 1981 of 2-2 meant that the proposal did not pass and that the exemption for the apprenticeship programs remained. It should be noted that if these guidelines had been implemented, they would only have had a limited impact, as discrimination against those 40 to 70 years of age would be illegal, but the age limits would still have an impact on those 25 to 39 years of age. One option for improving the access of women to such programs is for BAT and its certified State agencies to stop registering those apprenticeship programs that have maximum age limits.

^{8/}Petition to Amend 29 C.F.R. Part 30.

^{9/}Ibid.

It is possible that lifting upper age limits will increase the pool of men as well as women, and may not increase the number of women who enter preapprenticeship or apprenticeship programs. However, in States where maximum age limits are prohibited, many more women over age 25 are in the programs than are men over age 25.^{10/} Further, although there may be a concern that lifting upper age limits would result in many persons over 50 applying, data from California indicate that after the age limits were lifted, less than 2 percent of those entering apprenticeships in California were over 40 years old, and less than 1 percent were over 50 years old.^{11/}

The last factor that may limit women's access to CETA programs is the ineligibility of many recently separated women, due to the regulations specifying the calculations of family income. The May 20, 1980, CETA regulations define family income:

Family Income means all income actually received from all sources by all members of the family, during the income determination period. Family size shall be the maximum number of family members during the income determination period. When computing family income, income of a spouse and/or other family member's shall be counted for the portion of the income determination period that the person was actually a part of the family unit of the applicant.

If a woman has no income and has been separated for 1 month, her family income must include her husband's income for the 5 months prior to the separation. Since the income determination period is 6 months, this problem is most severe in the first few months after the separation. These regulations unnecessarily limit the eligibility of a class of women who are in need of services.

^{10/}Ibid.

^{11/}Ibid.

2. Quality of Services

Our concern with the quality of services in CETA is focused on the program's ability to have an impact on women's long-run self-sufficiency, and to overcome occupational stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment. The priority in CETA and the welfare demonstration projects is to place participants in unsubsidized employment as quickly as possible, regardless of the quality of placement. While this is an issue that is important for men as well as women, it is of particular concern for women. A quick, cheap placement for a female is most likely to be in a traditionally female job and the majority of traditionally female jobs are low paying. While a placement in a traditionally female job will remove a woman from unemployment or welfare rolls in a short period of time and with minimal cost, the long-term benefits of such a placement are questionable. In the long run, AFDC (with the concomitant health benefits) may be a better alternative for many women than employment in a low-paying job. While training for or placement in a nontraditionally female, higher paying job may take more time and cost more money, such training or placement could have a significant impact on long-run self-sufficiency, employability, and dependence on transfer payments.^{12/} In short, the expected benefits over the individual's life of training or placement in higher paying, nontraditional employment may outweigh the small increment in cost associated with such activities.

Certain aspects of the CETA system provide incentives to quick, low-cost placement: (1) one year planning and funding cycles, (2) performance standards that rely heavily on cost per placement, instead of quality of placement, (3) a reporting system that does not require data on the quality of placement, and (4) evaluations using short-run measures of success such as placement in unsubsidized employment or positive termination rather than earnings in the post-CETA job.^{13/}

^{12/}The Supported Work Demonstration Projects suggest that female AFDC recipients may be particularly responsive to intensive training and investment (Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation (MDRC) Board of Directors, Summary and Findings of the National Supported Work Demonstration (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1980)). However it should be noted that most successful nontraditional programs for women do not require this kind of intensive investment; some place women in nontraditional jobs at a cost per placement of about \$1,000.

^{13/}Zornitsky and McNally, "Measuring the Effects of CETA on Women."

These aspects of the system may act as disincentives to provide quality training or to overcome sex stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment. Nothing in the CETA system rewards prime sponsors for moving women into nontraditionally female, higher paying jobs. The system may need to be changed to provide incentives for more intensive training that will have an impact on women's long-run self-sufficiency.

The welfare demonstration projects funded with CETA monies seem to be most concerned with a quick placement rather than the quality of that placement. While evidence on these demonstration projects is not yet definitive, there is a serious concern that they act as another force pushing females into low-paying, traditionally female jobs. This concern arises because the individuals in the program begin intensive job search without any additional training and with almost no counseling about the range of possible opportunities (essential to facilitating the recruitment of women for nontraditionally female employment).

One way of changing the CETA system to provide encouragement to do quality training would involve evaluating prime sponsors not only on the number of individuals served but also on the quality of services provided. To do so, it would be essential that prime sponsors routinely report information on the quality of services provided to significant segments of the population. Possible measures would be the occupations trained for and placed in within CETA by sex and race/national origin, and the percentage of women who are placed in nontraditionally female jobs. It may be possible to streamline the management information system so that the information for monitoring fraud and abuse can be collected along with the requisite information to assess the quality of services provided to significant segments. The Office of Performance Management of the Employment and Training Administration, in its efforts to develop a uniform performance assessment system, is attempting to incorporate quality of service and outcome measures into the performance assessment system.

3. Moving Women into Nontraditionally Female Employment Through CETA

Moving women into nontraditionally female jobs can be fraught with problems. While it may be a difficult task, it is not an impossible one. There are numerous nontraditional

programs that have been successful at placing women in nontraditional, higher paying jobs at a relatively low cost.^{14/} However, these programs are often model programs with short-term funding and are not well integrated into the regular CETA system. To ensure that this information is utilized, the Department of Labor could initiate a program (perhaps with title IIIA funds) in which representatives from these exemplary programs provide technical assistance to prime sponsors and to local subcontractors (within their own geographical area) on overcoming occupational stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment.

Moving women into nontraditionally female employment can be achieved if certain aspects of successful model programs are incorporated into these programs as mechanisms for overcoming certain major problems: recruitment, placement, and retention. These stumbling blocks and ways to overcome them are discussed next.

The problem of recruitment can be succinctly described by the following comments: "Women, in particular, disadvantaged women, don't want these (dirty) jobs," or "we can't find women who are interested in these kinds of jobs." Many women have aspiration for traditionally female employment, resulting from the numerous forces that inculcate them with notions about what the appropriate roles for women and men are in this society.^{15/} But as the roles of men and women have experienced quite remarkable changes over the last two decades, so have the aspirations of women for nontraditionally female employment. The work by Berryman and Chow provides

^{14/}The National Commission for Employment Policy sponsored a conference, "The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs," in September 1980. Three individuals who run nontraditional programs for women (Susan Gilbert, Sandy Carruthers, and Betsy Jacobus) discussed the barriers to effectively moving women into nontraditional jobs in CETA. Their presentations shall appear in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

^{15/}See Waite and Hudis, The Development and Maintenance of a Segregated Labor Force, for a review of such forces.

some empirical support for this. These aspirations might have changed at a slower pace if there were no financial benefit of employment in nontraditionally female jobs. There are three pieces of evidence to suggest that there is an unmet demand among disadvantaged women for nontraditionally female employment (Table 5 (in this chapter) from Berryman and Chow). Additional evidence, though experiential in nature, comes from the programs themselves. One nontraditional program for young females in the District of Columbia received over 300 contacts for 45 slots in a 2-week period after having advertised in the newspaper.^{16/} In a study of six Targeted Outreach Projects, it was found that there were five times as many female applicants for these preapprenticeship programs as there were slots available for them.^{17/} To say that there is no national problem with the recruitment of women into nontraditionally female jobs does not imply that any particular program may not have such a problem. Successful nontraditional program operators believe that exposing women to the advantages and disadvantages of nontraditionally female employment through extensive counseling and some screening during the intake procedure is an effective mechanism for overcoming the recruitment problems that may exist.

The placement of women in nontraditionally female employment after they have been trained can be a stumbling block in the process of moving women into nontraditional employment. This problem could be summed as follows: "Why should we train women in nontraditionally female areas? We cannot find them jobs; employers don't want to hire women to do men's jobs." While there is some truth to the assertion that "some employers are not eager to hire women to do men's work," the tastes of employers may be changing. Furthermore, successful programs have developed ways to overcome this barrier.

It is unnecessary to review the large body of literature on the maintenance of a sex-segregated labor force. It is important to note, however, that sex segregation of occupations is maintained in part by the tastes and preferences of

^{16/}Private communication with Susan Gilbert, Director, Wider Opportunities for Women's Nontraditional Programs, September 11, 1980.

^{17/}Roslyn Kane, "Availability of Women for Apprenticeships: Preliminary Findings," paper presented at Third Conference on Research Findings and Future Trends in Apprenticeship Training (Washington, D.C., 1980).

employers. Most employers are not eager to place women in nontraditionally female jobs. There have been numerous changes over the last 20 years that tend to encourage employers to begin to integrate their work force sexually. First, title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act prohibits the restriction of access to employment opportunities on the basis of sex unless the employer can prove that sex is a bona fide occupational qualification. The case law on this issue suggests that the courts have come to believe that there are very few occupations for which sex is a bona fide occupational qualification. Employers are coming under increasing pressure to hire women in nontraditionally female jobs (and minorities in nontraditionally minority jobs) as EEOC and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs (OFCCP) more stringently enforce title VII and Executive Order 11246 (a directive from the President stating that contractors must not discriminate on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and must take affirmative steps to ensure such in order to do business with the Federal Government). As more women move into nontraditionally female employment and show employers that they are capable of performing such job tasks, employers' preferences have begun to change.

Many nontraditional programs for women have been successful at placing women because one aspect of their programs has been job development;^{18/} that is, these programs find or develop jobs before training the individuals. Job development is a program element commonly found in many successful male preapprenticeship programs. Linkages between the employment and training institutions and the private sector are critical elements in a long-run solution to the placement problem. While some who run nontraditional programs for women do their own job development, the process could be institutionalized through the use of the Private Industry Councils (PICS) of title VII of CETA.

Another prospect for improving ties to the private sector is the ETA-OFCCP linkage project. Under the auspices of the Department of Labor, this project links employers who are in noncompliance with Executive Order 11246 with CETA

^{18/}See Susan Gilbert and Sandy Carruthers in The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs.

and some vocational education programs. Those devising this program hope that CETA (and perhaps vocational education programs and WIN) can provide women and minorities who have been trained for nontraditionally female and nontraditionally minority jobs to employers who are in need of such persons. If successful, this linkage project could aid not only employers but also the CETA prime sponsors because it would provide placements for women trained in nontraditionally female areas. For this project to be effective, CETA must be training women in nontraditionally female areas and minorities in nontraditionally minority areas.

This program is quite new and, therefore, has not been either completely institutionalized or successfully evaluated. One concern is that a built-in incentive exists for employers to participate, but no incentives exist for a prime sponsor to do so. If the prime sponsor were being evaluated on the number of individuals placed through such a program, or even more simply, the percentage of women placed in nontraditional jobs, then incentives for the active cooperation of prime sponsors would exist. If this program is successful, perhaps it could be broadened to use other enforcers of equal employment opportunity laws and other institutions that train individuals, such as the vocational education establishment.

The last problem in placing women in nontraditionally female jobs is retention, which can be summarized by the following statement: "Women don't last through the training, and, once we place them, they don't stay on the job for very long." Successful nontraditional programs have developed mechanisms for improving retention by attempting to counteract the causes of lower retention in programs and on jobs for women in nontraditionally female areas. Retention problems in the training programs can result from the following. First, women may not have been given as much information about the disadvantages of the job as about the advantages; for example, they may not be prepared for the extent of physical strength required. Adequate counseling and screening should reduce this type of retention problem. Second, women sometimes require remedial training to get them to the usual starting point of a training program originally designed for men. This problem can be ameliorated by reevaluation and perhaps modification of traditional training methods. Retention of women in nontraditionally female jobs can be a problem.

Women who enter such jobs often face harassment from male coworkers and supervisors; much of this harassment disappears as more women move into such jobs and women are no longer tokens.^{19/} Strategies have been developed to counteract these problems. One method for preparing women for this type of behavior is to counsel them on being tokens and the problems of being a female in a male "club." Another method is to assure, whenever possible, that a woman does not go to a job site as the only woman. In short, while retention of women in nontraditionally female training programs and jobs can be a problem, strategies have been developed to overcome them.

One critical issue related to the movement of women into nontraditional employment is the expected shifts in demand for certain occupations over the next 20 years. There is a concern that moving women into nontraditionally female employment will result in a short-run improvement in women's earnings, but result in increasing female unemployment in the long run, since it is the traditionally female areas of the labor market that are expected to expand during the next 20 years. While there may be little growth in many nontraditionally male jobs, this does not imply that there is no turnover in these jobs. On the grounds of equity, women have as much right as men to opportunities for training for these occupations. More importantly, it is critical to identify those nontraditionally female jobs (perhaps mixed occupations rather than traditionally male ones) that are not low paying and where there will be considerable expansion over the next 20 years.

C. Title IIIA Programs

Our ability to identify barriers in the quantity and quality of services to women in title IIIA programs and to seek ways to overcome them is seriously hampered by our lack of information on the programs. It is essential to document the experience of women in such programs before one can understand exactly what the problems are. The kinds of information that would be helpful would be basic information on the population being served in each of the programs (by race/national origin and sex) and information on the quality of services by

^{19/}Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions in Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology 82 (1977): 965-990.

sex. For example, in Targeted Outreach Projects and National On-the-Job Training Projects, we do not know from routinely collected information what percentage women are of the unskilled placements or placements under \$4 an hour. Essentially, we have no information on the differential quality of services provided to women and men in these programs. Further, what information we have concerns the number of placements, rather than the number of applicants. Information on the applicant flow would be useful in determining whether the goals for particular groups are reasonable.

Despite some gaps in knowledge, we do know that women and groups that are predominantly female do not receive a large portion of title IIIA monies or services. Before discussing the barriers to using title IIIA programs to improve the self-sufficiency of women, one must consider what means might be used in title IIIA to accomplish the goal of increasing the earnings of disadvantaged women. For example, if women's organizations and programs run by and for women received a larger amount of money, it might ensure that women would be better served by the programs in title III. If technical assistance to program operators on strategies to overcome sexual stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment were paid for by title IIIA monies, the quality of services to women might improve.

What barriers are there to women and programs run for women (and perhaps by women) receiving a larger share of the title IIIA funds? Women were not mentioned as a special group in need of attention in the original CETA legislation; they were added when the law was amended in 1978. Therefore, the funding of certain programs and groups was well established when women were added to the legislation. Suddenly, there were new groups competing for a larger piece of a pie which itself was not expanding very rapidly. In fact, the need to ensure through title IIIA the continued funding of certain extant national programs run by community-based organizations (CBOs) was frequently mentioned in early deliberations about CETA and about title IIIA in particular. It has been difficult for women's organizations to edge into the funding system in title IIIA. While this, in part, results from the lengthy history of the funding of certain programs, it results as well from the fact that women's organizations have not been very effective at lobbying for their cause. Further, even if the Office of National Programs decided to fund a national women's community-based organization that does employment and training at the local level under the program, "Operational Funds for Community Based Organizations," it is unclear whether such a national community-based organization exists to receive such funds.

What barriers exist to the increased participation of women in programs currently funded by title IIIA? The programs that are of the greatest concern because they serve low proportions of women are the Targeted Outreach Projects and the National On-the-Job Training projects. These programs were originated to increase opportunities for minorities in skilled jobs. These programs have done quite well at serving minorities; despite a goal of 50 percent minority participants, a much larger percentage is served.^{20/} These programs have goals, established by the Department of Labor, of 20 percent female participants. It is unclear exactly what the goals should be since there are clearly numerous forces pushing women into traditionally female and away from nontraditionally female employment. However, many programs funded under OJT and TOP are able to serve larger numbers of women, suggesting that these goals may be underestimating the demand among disadvantaged women for nontraditional, skilled employment. Another problem seems to be insufficient monitoring and a lack of sanctions taken against those programs that do not meet their goals.

Last, one productive way to use title IIIA funds to help disadvantaged women might be to fund a program in which successful nontraditional employment program operators would provide technical assistance to prime sponsors and recipients of title IIIA funds. This program would focus on methods of placing women in nontraditionally female employment which would therefore break down occupational stereotyping and artificial barriers to employment. While there are other funding sources for providing technical assistance to prime sponsors, only a small proportion is designated for providing technical assistance of a substantive nature dealing specifically with women. One way to ensure that prime sponsors and recipients of title IIIA funds receive this type of technical assistance might be to mandate that a certain proportion of title IIIA funds be used for this endeavor.

D. WIN Programs

It is easier to identify the aspects of WIN program law or operation that act as barriers to using such programs effectively to improve the self-sufficiency of women than it is to identify barriers in CETA title IIIA, because we can more adequately describe the experience of women in these programs. However, it should be remembered that while we have that description, we do not have the empirical studies

^{20/}Kane, "Women in Title IIIA of CETA."

that can determine the exact amount of the sex differential caused by each of the barriers that will be mentioned. We begin by discussing those barriers that have the most impact on quantity of services to women and move to those that have the most impact on the quality of services to women.

The WIN program stresses placement rather than training. Originally, the program was intended to train and place AFDC recipients, but when it was amended, job placement was emphasized. A priority on quick placements probably leads to overserving men, since evidence indicates that men in WIN are more employable, on average, than are women in WIN.^{21/} The lack of a serious training component is particularly disadvantageous to women. Many women need additional training to qualify for nontraditionally female employment. Female AFDC recipients, and especially those women who are required to register for WIN, have been out of the labor force for a long time.

In addition to the emphasis on quick placement, the preference list within WIN results in underservice to women. Section 433.(a) of the Social Security Act reads:

The Secretary, in carrying out such program for individuals certified to him under section 402(a)(19)(G), shall accord priority to such individuals in the following order, taking into account employability potential: first, unemployed fathers; second, mothers, whether or not required to register pursuant to section 402(a)(19)(A), who volunteer for participation under a work incentive program; third, mothers, and pregnant women, registered pursuant to section 402(a)(19)(A), who are under 19 years of age; fourth, dependent children and relatives who have attained age 16 and who are not in school or engaged in work or manpower training; and fifth, all other individuals so certified to him.

^{21/}Underwood, "The Contribution of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program to the Self-Sufficiency of Women," and Robert Grams, William Pollock, and Rachel Rohde, Men in WIN--An Examination of Factors Relevant to Participation in the WIN Program (Minneapolis: Institute for Manpower Program Analysis, Consultation and Training, Inc., September 1978).

Since the preference section specifies that operators should "take into account employability potential," it is likely that in the absence of an unemployed father preference, men would still receive first priority since, on average, they are more employable than women. To make this section effectively neutral with respect to sex, not only would the gender-based preferences in section 433.(a) have to be stricken, but perhaps the reference to "taking into account employability potential" as well. Both clauses reinforce the tendency of the program to place men first and add to the impact of the quick placement emphasis of the program.

It seems important to understand the original logic behind the unemployed father preference and quick placement emphasis in the WIN legislation. First, men on welfare may be less acceptable to policymakers than women on welfare, in part because women on welfare have an "excuse" for not working (their child-rearing activities) whereas men do not.^{22/} Thus, when the legislation was written, there was probably more impetus to get those "able-bodied men off welfare" through the unemployed father preference than to push women with small children into the labor force. Second, the unemployed father preference was probably viewed as profamily; that is, by giving the advantage to unemployed fathers, perhaps fewer marriages would be disrupted because of the husband's poor economic performance. Third, the unemployed father preference would result in serving those who are most employable first, therefore making the system more efficient. But, as times have changed, the rationale for giving fathers preference over all others is not as clear. Since men in WIN are more employable, on average, than women in WIN, men are likely to be served first and get jobs with higher wages. In short, even without the unemployed father preference, men would be served better by WIN. Over the last 20 years, households headed by women constitute an increasing share of the households living in poverty. Therefore, it seems that constructing a program that gives preferences to unemployed fathers and not to unemployed female heads of families is ignoring the trend toward the feminization of poverty.

^{22/}Sar Levitan and Robert Taggart, The Promise of Greatness: The Social Programs of the Last Decade and Their Major Achievements (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976).

The constitutionality of references to unemployed fathers has been called into question. The Supreme Court ruled in Califano v. Westcott et al. that the Unemployed Father Program of AFDC (section 407 of the Social Security Act) was unconstitutional because of the discriminatory nature of the gender distinction. Rather than invalidating section 407 altogether, the Court extended such benefits to similarly situated unemployed mothers who would be eligible except for their sex. In the directives from the agencies to the WIN program operators concerning the implications of this case for the rest of the WIN program, the agencies have essentially argued that only those aspects of the law that were directly mentioned in the court decision shall be affected.

There appear to be a number of options for handling this mandated unemployed father preference. First, section 433.(a) could be stricken; that is, the preference list and the directive to serve people taking account of their employability potential could be deleted. This would have marked effects on the entire WIN program, but these changes would make the section effectively neutral with respect to sex. The second option is merely to strike the preference section but leave intact the directive to serve persons according to their employability potential. Last, all gender-based language could be removed from the WIN program. The latter seems like a drastic step and would require substantial research and policy analysis prior to such a change.

The next aspect of WIN that affects the quantity and quality of services to women is the disbursement formula for discretionary funds. Fifty percent of the WIN monies is disbursed according to this formula.^{23/} (The remaining monies are distributed to localities according to their percentage of the WIN registrant population.) The discretionary monies are distributed according to program performance using performance indicators such as: (1) average monthly grant reductions, (2) number of job entries, (3) average job entry wage rate, and (4) average retention rate on jobs.^{24/} These indicators do not take into account variations in the demographic characteristics of the

^{23/}Underwood, "The Contribution of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program to the Self-Sufficiency of Women."

^{24/}Ibid.

registrant population, which affect the performance on these measures.^{25/} Using these performance standards rewards States with higher proportions of unemployed fathers (i.e., AFDC-UP States), because unemployed fathers get higher wages and are easier to place than women. Similarly, they reward staff for concentrating on the placement of those who are most employable.^{26/} In short, this disbursement formula influences the quantity of services to women as well as the proportion of funds that non-AFDC-UP States receive. Unemployed parent States had 75 percent of the WIN registrants in 1977 but received 85 percent of the discretionary monies.^{27/} Some could argue that this disbursement system is essential for the following reasons: (1) it rewards performance, and (2) it acts as an incentive to States to have unemployed parent programs. Both of these goals are important. However, it seems necessary to broaden performance measures to take into account types of groups served, quality of placement, and the demographic characteristics of the registrant population that influence the traditional performance measures.

The last aspect of the WIN program that affects the quality of services to women is the 100 hour rule. A man who is working 100 hours a month automatically is ineligible for AFDC benefits. On the other hand, women have benefit reduction formulas making them ineligible for WIN only if their earnings are above a certain level. In effect, this could be an inducement to place men in better jobs, since they must forego all benefits if they work 100 hours. There are a number of policy options for dealing with this aspect of the system that acts to encourage staff to place men in the best jobs. These include: (1) apply the 100 hour rule to women, (2) strike the 100 hour rule for men, and (3) some kind of intermediate compromise. It seems unwise to apply the 100 hour rule to women. Women who head households and who work 100 hours yet earn less than a given level would be receiving no assistance; because of the wage disparity by sex, disadvantaged women who work 100 hours a month are more likely to make extremely low wages than are men who work 100 hours. Striking the 100 hour rule for men and applying the benefit reduction formula to them seems reasonable, but would cost more. Men who are working 100 hours and who are making less than the poverty level for their household size should not have their benefits taken away altogether. Some solution between these two might have only a minimum impact on welfare cost, while still protecting the households of men who work 100 hours and have low earnings.

^{25/}John J. Mitchell, Mark L. Chadwin, and Demetra S. Nightingale, Implementing Welfare Employment Programs: An Institutional Analysis of the Work Incentive (WIN) Program, R&D Monograph No. 78 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1980).

^{26/}Ibid.

^{27/}Grams, Pollock and Rohde, Men in WIN.

IV. CONCLUSION

This chapter has documented the disparate experiences of men and women in Federal employment and training programs: CETA programs run by State and local governments, CETA programs run by the Office of National Programs, and WIN. This description has focused on two major issues: equity in access to programs (quantity of services to women) and the quality of services to women (i.e., the extent to which they can add to women's self-sufficiency). We have identified barriers to using these programs effectively to improve the self-sufficiency of disadvantaged women.

To overcome these barriers, action would be required of the Congress, the Department of Labor, and program operators. These programs have improved in their quality and quantity of services to women over the last several years. However, to help disadvantaged women to support themselves and their families, the potential of these programs needs to be realized.

APPENDIX A

Conference Agendas

In May 1980 the Commission sponsored a two-day conference on "Education, Sex Equity and Occupational Stereotyping." In September 1980 another two-day conference was held on "The Experience of Women in Employment and Training Programs." The agendas of these conferences are included in this Appendix. The proceedings of each will be published by the Commission later this year.

CONFERENCE ON

May 5, 6, 1980

Georgetown University

Coffee and Donuts

Introduction/Welcome

I. Differential Treatment of Women and Men in Vocational Education Programs

Laurie Harrison, American Institutes for Research

Jan Grassmuck, Congressional Budget Office

Sue Berryman, Rand Corporation

Gene Bottoms, American Vocational Association
Roslyn Kane, Rj Associates

Break

10:15-
12:00

II. Differential Effects of Vocational Education on Men and Women

A. National Survey Data -- The National Longitudinal Survey

John Grasso, Comparing the Labor Market Effects for Men and Women

Sandra Hofferth, Comparing the Labor Market Effects for Men and Women

B. National Survey Data -- NLS Class of 72

Annegret Harnischfeger, Comparing the Labor Market Effects for
Men and Women

C. Description of the Survey (in progress) of the Effects of
Vocational Education on Students

Elinor Woods, The Huron Institute

D. Discussion/Critique

David Wise, JFK School of Public Affairs, Harvard University

Arvil V. Adams, George Washington University

Lunch

1:00-
2:30

III. New Initiatives to Improve the Treatment of Women in
Vocational Education

A. The Sex Equity Guidelines and Title IX

Barbara Bitters, Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education

B. The AIR Study of Sex Equity in Vocational Education

Laurie Harrison, American Institutes for Research

C. Comments by Sex Equity Coordinators

Loydia Webber, Georgia

Carol Jabonaski, New York

Anna Biermeier, Wisconsin

D. Discussion

Janet Wells, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Louise Vetter, National Center for Research in Vocational
Education

Open Discussion: All Participants

Break

2:45-
4:30

IV. A Look Towards the Future. Can/How Can the Federal Government
Improve the Treatment of Women in Vocational Education?

(ten minute statement by each person listed; then discussion)

Carol Gibson, NACVE and NCEP

David Evans, Subcommittee on Education, Arts and Humanities of
the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee

Phyllis McClure, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Open Discussion: All Participants

4:30

Adjournment

Agenda
CONFERENCE ON
EDUCATION, SEX EQUITY AND OCCUPATIONAL STEREOTYPING
Tuesday, May 6 - Secondary Education

- 8:00-8:30 Coffee and Donuts
- 8:30-8:45 Introduction/Welcome
- 8:45-10:30 I. A. Views of Appropriate Roles of Women
1. Books and Other Teaching Materials
- Myra and David Sadker, American University
Books and Materials Used in Teacher Training
- Jeana Wirtenberg, National Institute of Education
Books and Materials Used by Students
2. Counselors/Counseling
- Mary Ellen Verheyden-Hilliard, Education Equity Institute
Review of the Research
- Lee Richmond, Johns Hopkins University
Case Study in Maryland
- (9:45) Discussant: Linda Waite, University of Illinois
- Open Discussion: All Participants
- Break
- 10:45-12:00 I. B. Views of Appropriate Roles of Women
1. Differential Treatment of Women in the Classroom
- Susan Klein, Barbara Richardson, National Institute
of Education, Review of the Research
- Rebecca Lubetkin, Training Institute for Sex Desegre-
gation of the Public Schools
Ways of Intervention

10:45-12:00 (Continued)

2. The Effects of Role Models in Schools

Charol Shakeshaft, Hofstra University

(11:30)

Discussant: Marlaine Lockheed, Educational Testing Service

Open Discussion: All Participants

Lunch

1:15-2:30

I. C. Views of Appropriate Roles of Women: Math and Science

Susan Chipman, National Institute of Education
Review of the Research

Lynn Fox, Johns Hopkins University
Effects of Boys' and Girls' Career Orientation on
Proclivity to Enroll in Math and Science Courses

Paula Quick Hall, American Association for the
Advancement of Science
Minority Women in Math and Science

(2:00)

Discussant: Jacquelynne Parsons, University of Michigan

Open Discussion: All Participants

Break

2:45-4:30

II. Policy Issues

A. Can the Federal Government Change What Happens in the
Local School Districts?

B. Where Is Title IX Most/Least Effective?

C. Is New Legislation/Funding Needed?

(Short statement by each person listed)

Ruth Love, Superintendent, Oakland Public School
Systems, and NCEP member

Shirley McCune, Associate Commissioner, Equal Education
Opportunity Program

Holly Knox, Project on Equal Education Rights

Leslie Wolfe, Women's Educational Equity Act Program

Clark Leming, Office for Civil Rights,
Department of Education

Open Discussion: All Participants

4:30

Adjournment

THE EXPERIENCE OF WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING PROGRAMS

Sponsored by

The National Commission for Employment Policy

11 Dupont Circle-Room 800-A

Wednesday, September 17, 1980

8:30-9:00

Coffee and Donuts

9:00-9:15

I. Introduction

9:15-12:00

II. The Experience of Women in Employment and Training Programs

Presentations (9:15-10:20):

"Sex Equity of Services in CETA and the Effects of Sex Segregation of Occupations"
Sue Berryman and Winston Chow, The Rand Corporation

"Women and Title III of CETA" Roslyn Kane, Rj Associates

"The Effects of Employment and Training Programs on Women" Howard Bloom, National Commission for Employment Policy

"Women in WIN" Lorraine Underwood

Break (10:20-10:30)

Discussion (10:30-11:00):

Patrick O'Keefe, ETA/DOL

George Johnson, University of Michigan

Alice Quinn, National Congress of Neighborhood Women

Open Discussion (11:00-12:00)

12:00-1:30 - Lunch

1:30-3:30 III. Barriers to Effectively Using Employment and Training Programs to Improve the Self-Sufficiency of Women: Session I

Presentations (1:30-2:00):

"Women Are Not Viewed as an Important Target Group" Jane Fleming, Wider Opportunities for Women

"The Evaluation of Plans of Prime Sponsors" Joan Wills, National Governors' Association

Discussion (2:00-2:30):

Roberts Jones, ETA/DOL

Ray Holland, Mayor's Office of Employment and Training, San Francisco

Carmen Estrada, Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Open Discussion (2:30-3:30)

Thursday, September 18, 1980

8:30-9:00 Coffee and Donuts

9:00-10:20 IV. Barriers to Effectively Using Employment and Training Programs to Improve the Self-Sufficiency of Women: Session II

Presentations (9:00-9:30):

"Performance Standards" Jeffrey Zornitsky, Policy and Evaluation Division, Department of Manpower Development, Boston

"Supported Services" John Kachmar, National Alliance of Business (formerly of Lehigh Valley Manpower Consortium)

Discussion (9:30-9:50):

Peter Rell, ETA/DOL

Charlotte Gallogly, South Florida Employment and Training Consortium

Open Discussion (9:50-10:20)

10:20-10:30 Break

10:30-12:00 V. Barriers to Effectively Using Employment and Training Programs to Get Women into Nontraditionally Female Jobs

Presentations (10:30-11:15):

Susan Gilbert, Wider Opportunities for Women

Sandy Carruthers, Better Jobs For Women

Betsy Jacobus, Creative Employment Project

Open Discussion (11:15-12:00)

12:00-1:30 Lunch

1:30-4:00 VI. A Look Toward The Future: Ways to Overcome the Barriers to Effectively Using Employment and Training Programs to Improve the Self-Sufficiency of Women

Presentations (1:30-3:00):

Nancy Barrett, ASPER/DOL

Susan Grayson, Employment Opportunities Subcommittee, U.S. Congress

Leticia Chambers, Labor and Human Resources Committee, U.S. Senate

Kitty Higgins, Domestic Policy Staff

Cindy Marano, Women's Workforce Network

Open Discussion (3:00-4:00)

APPENDIX B

Summaries of Sponsored Research

During 1980, the Commission sponsored six research projects on ways to increase the income of disadvantaged women. The authors' summaries of the final reports for four of these projects are included in this Appendix; the reports are available from the Commission. Reports from the other projects (by Roslyn Kane and Lorraine Underwood) will appear in the proceedings of the conference on The Experience of Women in Federally Sponsored Employment and Training Programs, cited above.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND MAINTENANCE OF A SEGREGATED LABOR FORCE:
REVIEW, SYNTHESIS, CRITIQUE OF RECENT RESEARCH

Linda J. Waite
and
Paula M. Hudis*

This report presents a review, synthesis and critique of the research literature on early influences on occupational segregation of the labor force by sex, and on maintenance of that segregation by employer practices. It begins with a consideration of biological differences between the sexes in personality, intellectual ability and physical characteristics. It then reviews theories of sex-role learning, since attempts to alter behavior related to sex roles depend on how one thinks such behavior is acquired. This report then considers the effects of experiences outside the formal education system. These include parents and family, the media, toys, clothes, peer groups, and language. It assesses the potential impact of each of these on sex-role attitudes of children and on their later behavior. Since exposure of children to schools begins so early and lasts through such an important period, the formal education system may have the single largest identifiable effect on the occupations that individuals eventually enter. This report focuses on role modeling in the classroom, the textbooks and reading materials used, sports and games played, interactions in classrooms between pupil and teacher, the role of counselors and counseling, and of tracking and vocational education. Finally, this report examines the effect of Federal laws in reducing sex segregation of occupations and of employer beliefs and practices that maintain a segregated work force. The next sections of this report present a summary of each of these reviews and conclusions about their implications for occupational segregation by sex.

First, the research literature reports relatively few consistent differences between males and females that appear to be biologically determined. Many early paper and pencil tests of male-female personality differences support sex stereotypes, but may be biased by stereotyping, by the observer, or by differential reporting by male and female subjects. Many of these studies of personality are inconsistent and evidence exists of strong effects of sex-role socialization on exhibited personality traits. Few differences between boys and girls in any type of intellectual ability appear before age ten; the sexes do about as well on tests of verbal and mathematical skills, memory and spatial ability. These tests begin to show gender differences during adolescence. These differences tend to follow stereotypes (and perhaps

*Linda J. Waite is a social scientist at the Rand Corporation. Paula M. Hudis is a research statistician at the Federal Reserve Board, San Francisco.

result from them); males excel in quantitative, females in verbal, skills. As with personality and intellectual differences between the sexes, physical differences are largely absent before adolescence, when males tend to exceed females in upper body strength and in short bursts of strength. Women display a greater tolerance for heat than men, and are often superior at physical activities requiring endurance. Male-female differentials in physical performance depend on conditioning and the type of activity considered.

The implications of theories of sex-role socialization for occupational sex segregation depend on whether they view such socialization as inalterable. Identification theories, based on Freudian psychoanalytic theory, view male-female differences in personality as permanent and global, and as resulting from fundamental differences in sex-role learning. Social learning theories see sex-role socialization as based on imitation of same-sex models. The majority of this learning takes place during childhood but continues throughout life; early experiences are not thought to be formative or irreversible. Cognitive-developmental theories assume that children play a very active role in their own development. Their sex-role learning depends on their cognitive maturity and their experiences with their world. Cognitive-developmental theorists see sex-linked behavior as semi-permanent once the child's framework for viewing the world has crystallized but changes can take place later as the child receives new information. If one subscribes to identification theories of sex-role socialization, then one must work with current--often stereotypical--differences between males and females or change the fundamental childrearing practices of this society to include more primary care by males. The latter two theories, social learning and cognitive development, give one more time; these theories suggest that supplying information to children after early sex-role learning might still change attitudes and later behavior. No research evidence exists that would allow policy makers to choose among these theories with any confidence.

A number of cultural or societal practices affect sex-role learning before children reach school or act outside the formal education system. Some of these seem to exert pressures toward traditional sex-role socialization whereas others have few or mixed effects. Parents and family do not seem to treat female and male children differently during early childhood, apparently do not have different values about how the two sexes ought to behave, interact with them differently, or show differential warmth, for example. One of the few consistent differences is that adults put more pressure on boys than girls not to engage in sex-inappropriate activities. Boys also seem to receive more punishment and more praise and

encouragement than do girls. Children of both sexes watch a good deal of television. The media have a large input into children's learning, although they may not have a commensurate impact. Most popular television shows portray males and females in very traditional, stereotyped roles. Most commercials do the same. But stories about working women, especially those in traditionally male occupations--common in the media in the last several years--may provide role models for young women interested in nontraditional occupations. Toys and clothes comprise two potential influences on children's sex-role learning, but no research has demonstrated that male-female differences in toys or clothing preferences have any effect on later behavior. The same is true of the fundamental pro-male bias in English, although one researcher hypothesizes that boys and girls learn different linguistic rules as a consequence and react differently to "standard" language use. Peer group relationships appear to vary by sex with boys engaging in more positive interaction with large groups of friends whereas girls tend to have smaller and more intimate friendship groups. Boys rather than girls appear to be more susceptible to peer group influence. The effect of a same-sex peer group may be especially important at certain ages or particular developmental points; adolescence seems to be one of those ages and those engaged in activities defined as sex inappropriate are most susceptible to peer influence.

Experiences of children in the formal education system can affect their sex-role learning and sex-linked behavior through a number of mechanisms. One of these is through role modeling. A number of studies have assessed the effects of role modeling in the classroom; the results have been mixed. These studies suggest that children may define as appropriate for themselves the activities that they see others of their gender performing, and that they then tend to perform better at those "sex-appropriate" activities than at those defined as neutral or sex-inappropriate. The dependence of performance on the sex labeling of the activity seems especially strong for females. Thus, the presence of role models for girls may be crucial for their occupational choices but it is not clear that these role models must exist in person in elementary or secondary schools. Perhaps exposure to women and girls in nontraditional activities via the media and in reading materials would perform the same function.

The textbooks and reading materials that children currently use in school do not, for the most part, expose them to nontraditional sex roles. These books almost uniformly portray females in stereotyped roles and underrepresent them in both text and illustrations. Books for preschool children, and mathematics, science, and language texts for high school students all tend to suffer from the same problem, although

in some areas the most recent texts show substantial improvements. Although a number of studies have demonstrated that sex bias and stereotyping in textbooks is pervasive, none have shown that this bias has long-term effects on children's attitudes or behavior. One researcher reports a significant short-term effect on elementary school children's sex stereotyping of use of a reading program that presented females as having stereotyped and unflattering characteristics. Several studies have found immediate effects of reading materials on children's attitudes toward various ethnic groups but these studies are limited in scope. One must conclude that texts and reading materials at least have the potential for reinforcing or challenging traditional views of sex roles.

From at least the time they enter school, boys and girls play different sports and games. Boys tend to play complex games requiring a knowledge of rules and cooperation between team members. These games are usually competitive with a clear winner. Girls' games tend to be cooperative and simple, with few rules and no winner. At least one researcher has speculated that the experiences that boys and girls have with sports and games provide them with different skills. These skills tend to be those associated with and rewarded in occupations traditional for that sex. No research evidence exists on this last point.

Some research suggests that in addition to learning different skills in the gym, girls and boys learn different lessons in the classroom. Teacher reaction to students seems to depend on their gender and achievement level, with low-achievement boys getting more negative evaluations than low-achievement girls and high-achievement boys getting more praise and encouragement than high-achievement girls. The content of teacher evaluations also seems to depend on gender. The negative evaluations of the work of female students tend to focus on their ability, whereas these evaluations for boys as often focus on their lack of motivation or effort. Thus, one researcher concludes that these different experiences lead girls to attribute failure to themselves and boys to attribute failure to external factors such as luck or the teacher. Boys end up with much more optimistic evaluations of their own abilities from this differential treatment by teachers than do girls. These differences in classroom interactions are subtle and may be quite difficult to identify and harder to alter. This review concludes that there is no simple, straightforward intervention that would eliminate the gender variations in classroom treatment that may exist.

The review just presented focuses on experiences of children in the early years in the school system. The next sections of this report consider experiences that usually affect students in high school and beyond. Among these are counselors and counseling. Counselors do not seem to be a

significant factor in women's choice of nontraditional training programs and careers except, perhaps, to discourage them. First, few counselors have the resources to provide one-to-one counseling for more than a very few students in their schools and so have little impact on the average student. Second, some evidence suggests that counselors tend to have rather traditional views of sex roles and to see the decision to enter a nontraditional occupation as originating with the female student. Third, group counseling interventions seem to produce few results and women in nontraditional training programs see them as of very little use. One study reports that counselors are reluctant to use materials developed outside their own school system and that employers view counselors as being of little help to students who want vocational training. This evidence suggests that counselors are not the key to moving large numbers of women into traditionally male occupations, but perhaps their role could become positive instead of the largely negative one it seems to be now.

During high school, students choose--sometimes with the aid of counselors--the curriculum or track in which they want to enroll. The choice of high school track affects the kind of job held after high school and the wages earned, so this choice is important. The choice of the vocational education track appears to increase women's wages in the short run but to decrease them ten years after high school. Vocational education programs are one possible route for women into nontraditional occupations but these programs tend to be highly segregated by sex and to prepare students for jobs traditional to their gender. At least some of this sex segregation in vocational training programs is due to the preferences of the students themselves; efforts to enroll females in vocational education programs in nontraditional fields have met with very limited success.

Women who don't receive nontraditional job training in high school may enter a training program in a postsecondary vocational-technical school or apprenticeship program. However, both these routes into nontraditional jobs have not worked well for very many women. First, the routine mechanisms to give women information about and experience with most nontraditional occupations do not exist. Second, most women do not have the basic skills these occupations require; they have not taken the high school courses which would have prepared them for these occupations and they have not had experiences outside of school which would have given them the necessary skills. Third, often teachers and fellow students do not know how to respond to females in training programs in nontraditional fields and may react with hostility and discomfort. Fourth, few women in nontraditional training programs have access to information and social support from other women in similar positions, generally because there are so few women in similar

positions. The recent slow growth in many skilled trades and crafts has made even more difficult the position of women seeking to enter these occupations.

The final sections of this report focus on Federal laws and their effect on occupational sex segregation and on employer practices that maintain a segregated work force. A summary of the effect of Federal laws on occupational segregation by sex must point out that very little is known about this topic. Several legal experts have assessed the kind and extent of remedies for discrimination available under these laws and concluded that their potential is not being met. Analyses of the impact of these laws on the employment, promotion, wages, and occupations of minorities and women reach different conclusions; affirmative action appears to benefit black men primarily, at least in one local area, whereas Federal laws seem to have reduced occupational segregation--albeit slightly--during the 1960's and early 1970's.

The review of research on employer practices that affect sex segregation of jobs comprises three parts: (1) general theoretical perspectives on this issue, (2) research on employers' expectations about sex differences, and (3) empirical evidence bearing on these employer expectations. The theoretical perspectives included here all attempt to explain the restriction of women to relatively few occupations and the lower status, wages, authority and autonomy that these occupations offer their incumbents. Theories of stereotyping and attribution theory draw on social-psychological explanations; labor market segmentation and internal labor market theories draw on structural explanations. If employers do prefer male or female employees for certain jobs or types of jobs, then these preferences would affect the chances that a woman was hired for a job in a nontraditional occupation. This report reviews research on worker characteristics thought to vary with sex and to be potentially relevant to productivity on the job. Research on sex differences in career continuity, supervisory ability, absenteeism, and motivation (value importance) suggests that employers should prefer male to female workers because women are less likely to stay in the labor market, less able to supervise effectively, more likely to be absent from work, and less oriented toward work than are men. But the evidence that employers do, in fact, hold these views is exceedingly scanty. And research on the existence of these purported differences in employee characteristics leads to the conclusion that even if there are differences in these characteristics by sex, these are minor and much less salient for job performance than most writings on this issue have suggested.

Supply of and demand for women can interact to determine the jobs for which women train and apply and the jobs for which employers hire them. First, women's expectations concerning labor market conditions, discrimination, advancement opportunities, and rewards can shape their educational decisions, job preferences, and voluntary turnover rates. These behaviors can, in turn, affect employers' demand for women in various occupations. Second, employers' expectations concerning appropriately "masculine" and "feminine" personality characteristics and behaviors can influence women's occupational aspirations, employment decisions, and the job-related behaviors they display. These behaviors in turn are used by employers as indicators of women's potential for success in various occupational roles--especially those traditionally held by men. Such assessments of women's potential will then affect hiring and promotion decisions.

CETA: IS IT EQUITABLE FOR WOMEN?

by Sue E. Berryman and Winston K. Chow*

This project addresses the question of whether CETA allocates its training, employment, occupational, wage, and postprogram benefits equitably by sex. The policy issues are legal and economic. CETA is a multibillion dollar Federal program and therefore subject to Federal antidiscrimination laws. It also offers services and wages that affect the poverty status of female-headed households and husband-wife families--during and (potentially) after CETA participation.

The project assesses three analytic issues. Descriptively, what is the case by sex? Is the case inequitable by sex? If sex inequity occurs, is it of policy concern?

The first step was to describe the distribution of CETA resources by sex. CETA has certain opportunities or resources to distribute and some discretion about how to distribute them by sex. These opportunities include participation in CETA itself, the specific CETA activity (e.g., classroom training or a job), training or job experience in traditional male--usually higher paid--occupations, CETA wages, and CETA postprogram placement.

However, distributional data have no automatic equity implications. Even if CETA distributes resources equally by sex, we cannot conclude that CETA serves women equitably. Equity can only be assessed relative to some normative standard. Thus, the second step was to identify--and if the proper data were available, apply--criteria by which data on CETA's resource distributions could be interpreted as equitable or inequitable. For example, estimates of the eligible CETA population by CETA title and sex provide a basis for assessing the equity of the male/female participation ratio by title.

Finally, even if CETA produces sex inequities, where should corrective policy be targeted? This choice is the prerogative of the political process. However, the project points out alternative criteria for establishing corrective priorities and additional analyses that could illuminate the consequences of choosing one rather than another criterion. For example, analyses of CETA postprogram impacts by sex and CETA service show whether sex inequities in access to certain CETA services matter.

*Sue Berryman is a social scientist at the Rand Corporation. Winston Chow was a statistician at Rand until his untimely death in November 1980.

The project analyses depend primarily on data from the Continuous Longitudinal Manpower Survey (CLMS), sponsored by the Employment and Training Administration of the Department of Labor. This survey is of CETA participants and, except for direct referrals, follows them for 36 months after the initial interview. Data collected at the initial interview include the participant's employment and schooling history for the year prior to CETA enrollment, dependence on public benefits prior to entry, demographic characteristics and family composition at entry, primary reason for CETA enrollment, and attitudes toward the CETA services received. Subsequent interviews obtain data on postprogram earnings and labor force experiences, family composition, and dependence on public benefits.

The results reported here are based on cross-tabulations. Multivariate analyses that control for several relevant variables simultaneously are still being conducted. Except in the analysis of CETA participation by sex, we conducted all analyses separately for youth (less than 22 years of age) and adults (22 years of age or older).

If CETA eligibility rates by sex for calendar year 1975 are relatively valid for 18-to-65-year-old females in fiscal years 1976-1978, eligible women are underrepresented in all CETA titles for all fiscal years except in title I in fiscal year 1978. The proportion of all participants who were female increased across the three fiscal years for all titles. However, only title I achieved an approximate 1:1 participation to eligibility ratio by fiscal year 1978. Titles II and VIA (PSE sustainment) had a 3:4 participation to eligibility ratio by fiscal year 1978; title VIB (PSE nonsustainment), a 3:5 ratio by fiscal year 1978.

If eligible adult males and females have equal demand for CETA services, we can unequivocally interpret these underrepresentations as inequitable. Unfortunately, demand data on CETA do not exist, and we cannot safely assume that males and females have equal demand. Several studies have shown that nontrivial numbers of individuals do not know about Federal programs for which they are eligible.^{1/}

^{1/}Susan Welch, Michael Steinman, and John Comer, "Where Have All the Clients Gone? An Examination of the Food Stamp Program," Public Welfare 31 (1973): 48-54; Oliver Moles, Robert F. Hess, and Daniel Fascione, "Who Knows Where to Get Public Assistance?" Welfare in Review 6 (1968): 8-13; Phyllis Ellickson, Who Applies for Housing Allowances?, The Rand Corporation, R-2632-HUD, forthcoming.

At least one study has shown that even informed individuals often do not apply for such programs.^{2/} The characteristics of the uninformed and the informed nonparticipant vary by the Federal program in question. Thus, in the absence of relevant data about CETA, we cannot presume that eligible males and females do not differ in their information about CETA or propensity to apply. At the same time, on the basis of eligibility criteria alone, 18-to-65-year-old females were clearly underrepresented in titles II and VI as of fiscal year 1978.

When we looked at how CETA participants are assigned to CETA activities, we found that, relative to all adults, adult females were more apt to be assigned to classroom training and adult work experience (AWE).^{3/} They were less apt to be assigned to on-the-job training (OJT) and public service employment (PSE) jobs.

We found the same basic results even when we controlled separately for selected background characteristics that might affect activity assignment (age, labor force status in the pre-CETA year, educational status, poverty status, and primary versus secondary wage earner and dependency status). Multivariate analyses that control simultaneously for these characteristics may show that differential assignment by sex is a function, not of sex per se, but of assignment-relevant characteristics differentially associated with male and female CETA participants. However, the initial cross tabulations indicate that sex alone, not assignment-relevant characteristics differentially associated with sex, produce different activity assignments.

Before we interpreted these unequal distributions by sex as inequitable, we asked about sex differences in demand for CETA activities. The data showed that women were at least as likely as men to get the activity (basic skills, job training, a job) that they wanted. However, for those who wanted job training, females were much more likely to get classroom training than OJT. For those who wanted jobs, they were more likely to get adult work experience than PSE jobs.

2/Ellickson, Who Applies for Housing Allowances?

3/Adult work experience jobs are intended as income transfer jobs; PSE jobs, as transitions to unsubsidized employment. Whether these different types of jobs in fact have these different post-CETA effects is not yet known.

How we interpret these data ultimately depends on what actually goes on in these activities and on their associated in-CETA and post-CETA benefits. However, the data suggest that, relative to men, CETA integrates women less into the workplace (classroom training rather than OJT) and less into "serious" jobs, i.e., ones intended as transitions to unsubsidized employment. At the same time, at least the classroom training/OJT difference may just reflect where training for traditional female jobs usually occurs. In this case any inequities resolve into occupational, not activity, assignment issues.

The wages associated with traditionally female occupations are generally lower than those associated with traditionally male occupations. Thus, occupational segregation by sex contributes to female poverty in the United States. The January 1979 Federal CETA regulations also direct prime sponsors to help eliminate sex stereotyping in training and employment. We use these regulations' definition of traditionally male, traditionally female, and (by inference) mixed occupations: females constitute less than 25 percent in a traditionally male occupation; 25 to 74 percent in a mixed occupation; and greater than or equal to 75 percent in a traditionally female occupation.

The data show that across time an increasing proportion of adult women were employed in traditionally male CETA jobs (7 percent to almost 12 percent in three fiscal years); a decreasing proportion in traditional female CETA jobs (68 percent to 62 percent in three fiscal years); and a stable proportion in mixed jobs. Adult females showed more change in occupational distribution across time than adult males, and these changes were in the desired direction. However, neither sex showed large changes.

The data on youth revealed a somewhat better CETA occupational desegregation record for female youth than for female adults and a worse record for male youth than for male adults. Female youth showed an increasing proportion in traditionally male jobs (13 percent to 20 percent in three fiscal years); a decreasing proportion in traditionally female jobs (67 percent to 57 percent in three fiscal years); and a small increase in mixed jobs (20 percent to 23 percent). Male youth showed much smaller changes in job distributions across time. They showed no change in the traditionally male proportion; a 2.6 percent absolute increase across time in the traditionally female jobs; and about a 2 percent absolute decrease in mixed jobs.

The above data tell us CETA's occupational desegregation record across time. However, they do not tell us CETA's response to female demand for nontraditional occupations, CETA's ability to retain adult females in nontraditional occupations who held such occupations prior to CETA entry, or CETA's ability to switch women with a traditional job history into nontraditional opportunities.

Substantial proportions of adults who expressed occupational preferences at CETA entry, and who wanted mixed occupations or occupations nontraditional for their sex did not get them, especially in fiscal years 1977 and 1978. Of females who wanted mixed jobs, 40 percent to 57 percent did not get what they wanted, depending on fiscal year. Of females who wanted traditionally male occupations, 43 percent to 67 percent did not get them.

Of adult females who wanted and failed to get traditional male jobs, depending on the fiscal year, 61 percent to 71 percent ended up in traditional female, not mixed, jobs. Of those who wanted and failed to get mixed jobs, 79 percent to 86 percent ended up in traditional female, not traditional male, jobs.

Of adult females whose last pre-CETA occupation was traditionally female, CETA placed a small but, across time, an increasing proportion in either mixed or traditional male occupations (19 percent in fiscal year 1976 and 26 percent in fiscal year 1978). CETA failed to retain a large proportion of women whose last pre-CETA job was a mixed occupation or a nontraditional occupation in either mixed occupations or nontraditional occupations. Depending on fiscal year, CETA placed from 40 percent to 46 percent of females who had traditionally male pre-CETA jobs in traditional female occupations. Of females who had pre-CETA mixed jobs, CETA placed from 42 percent to 55 percent in occupations traditional for their sex.

Adults of both sexes have lower average hourly wages in adult work experience than in PSE jobs. Thus, CETA's fiscal year 1976-78 propensity to place adult females in adult work experience jobs and adult males in PSE jobs automatically produces wage inequities by sex if these placements are a function of sex alone, not of assignment-relevant characteristics associated with sex.

Within CETA activities (on-the-job training (OJT), adult work experience (AWE), and public service employment (PSE)), the adult wage data generally show the usual wage differences by sex that we observe outside CETA. For fiscal years 1976-78 the male wage advantage was greatest for OJT, less for PSE, and least for AWE. For OJT the majority of the average wage differences by sex fell between 60 and 80 cents per hour; for PSE, between 30 and 60 cents per hour; and for AWE, between 20 and 50 cents per hour.

In the absence of additional analyses, we cannot conclude that CETA pays different wages by sex for the same job and for the same amount of human capital or places males with the same human capital as females in the higher paying jobs of an occupational category. For example, age, education, and prior labor force experience all affect job placement and wages, and we do not yet have the multivariate analyses that let us simultaneously control for several wage-relevant characteristics. However, thus far the data suggest that CETA may perpetuate the wage inequities of the general society.

The data also indicate that if adult women are employed in CETA in traditionally male or mixed occupations, they receive higher wages. The mixed occupations confer a greater wage advantage on adult females than the traditionally male occupations. Although traditionally female occupations depress the wages of adult females relative to the wages that they receive in mixed and traditionally male occupations, the traditionally female occupations do not have this effect on male wages. Finally, the data show that the mixed occupations have the greatest wage payoff for both sexes.

WOMEN, UNIONS, AND EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

Ronnie Steinberg Ratner
and
Alice H. Cook*

In 1978 almost one union member in four was a woman. Of these 6.8 million members, 1.1 million joined labor's ranks between 1956 and 1976, accounting for almost 50 percent of total union growth. This trend continues today, as women constitute a disproportionately high number of new union recruits. Trade unions are the primary institution in the labor market representing the interests of employees, through collective bargaining, political action, and worker education. This paper explores the role of trade unions in facilitating and blocking the labor market success of women.

In this study the programs and policies of a sample of craft and industrial unions--varying by industry size, and female membership--were examined, key national and international staff were interviewed, and the literature on trade unions was reviewed as the basis for addressing five issues:

- (1) the distribution of women across unions and its impact on what unions can do to facilitate labor market success of women;
- (2) ways in which unions have acted to improve women's labor market success;
- (3) ways in which unions are able to facilitate the labor market success of women;
- (4) barriers that deter positive union action with respect to women; and
- (5) government policies that might create further incentives for positive union action on behalf of women.

Unions vary markedly in the proportion of members who are female. This differential unionization of women springs from three interrelated factors: the pervasive sex segregation of the labor market by occupation and industry, the diversity of industries that have been unionized, and the timing of unionization drives. Unions have targeted industries and occupations, not workers, so that even in historically

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craft unions, membership of women in unions depends not so much on the union's rules and agreements with the employer about admission, but rather on the hiring policies of employers. To be sure, union leaders who are, almost without exception, men, oftentimes chose male-dominated industries as targets for unionizing drives, but this tendency is currently on the decline as unions branch out into new organizing territory.

The likelihood that unions will act affirmatively for their female membership increases as the number of women in leadership positions increases, and as the proportion of women members increases. While little can be said at present about the impact of women in leadership (because unions vary little along this dimension), union leadership does have a significant impact on the scope of union programs and policies. We can expect priorities to change somewhat as women enter the ranks of leadership. Not surprisingly, the largely male-dominated unions have not addressed the issue of integrating women into sex-segregated occupations unless forced to through significant Government pressure. When women constitute a large minority or even a majority of local membership, their demands have sometimes been met: (a) when they form a cohesive interest group and use the available political channels, and (b) when local union leaders are responsive to their membership in general.

Unions can work in many areas to develop policies and programs of differential benefit to women. Thus far, little has been accomplished, however. Most notably, union women, on average, earn 30 percent more than their non-union counterparts. Contrary to what would happen if women's wages reflected productivity or cost differences, there is no evidence that the pay increases that result from unionization lead directly to higher unemployment rates for women workers. Beyond these wage benefits, union contracts contain few provisions likely to reduce the labor market inequality of women relative to men. There are a few contracts that include provisions for paternity leave, job reclassification, establishing special grievance procedures for sexual harassment, and so on. On some of these issues--especially equal pay for work of comparable worth and maternity leave with pay--unions have turned from the bargaining table to the legislatures and the courts. The failure of unions to make any headway in their contracts on issues on which Government has been silent cannot be attributed simply to lack of interest, but perhaps to the combined impact of employer resistance and the low ranking of these issues as a priority for contract negotiations.

Unions have initiated activities for women in the area of worker education, through the creation of women's departments, through leadership training for women, and through education on women's issues. Many unions have a women's department at the national level, and a few require the establishment of a women's committee in every union local. These departments develop and disseminate model contract language and other literature, and several have organized national conferences for their women membership. More local union women are being sent to leadership training schools, both union-run and university-based. Some unions are working not only to increase the consciousness of their women members, but also to educate the general membership on the importance of "women's issues."

Programs and policies to deal with the distinctive needs of their female membership have been developed, for the most part, in response to a carrot and a stick-- on the one hand, Government monies for training programs and, on the other, the requirements of the National Labor Relations Act, the Executive Order 11246, and title VII. With a few exceptions, unions have reacted favorably to the letter of the law by representing their workers more equitably in grievance proceedings, by revamping of seniority systems, and by modifying general benefits policy. The National Labor Relations Board (citing the doctrine of the Duty of Fair Representation), the courts, and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission have consistently held that the union is jointly liable with the employer for discrimination caused in whole or in part by the provisions of a collective agreement. Moreover, the Duty of Fair Representation (DFR) requires a union to process the legitimate grievances of all local members; if a member feels thwarted, she or he may file a charge with the NLRB. Under the Gardner v. Denver case, a union member dissatisfied with the settlement of a discrimination grievance, even by arbitration, cannot be deprived of her or his right to appeal to the courts for adjudication of the complaint.

EEOC and court decisions concerning the segregation of blacks and other minorities have had the effect of abolishing departmental seniority in favor of plantwide seniority for layoffs and, where applicable, for promotion and transfer. Thorny legal issues remain, however, especially whether or not a plaintiff must demonstrate intent or simply disparate impact of a seniority system.

Administration of title VII also has had the effect of increased job posting and broader job bidding, two historically highly controversial issues between unions and management.

Moreover, if a union establishes its own insurance company, it falls under ERISA, which requires equal treatment of men and women beneficiaries.

Union involvement in training and apprenticeship programs varies enormously by industry, but is decidedly on the increase. In response to pressure from women members, the EEOC, and OFCCP, several unions are taking advantage of the training funds available from the DOL's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. Given that Government regulations now require craft unions to recruit at least 5 percent of their apprentices from among women, even formerly hostile craft unions are beginning to reconsider their disdain for using Government monies.

Unions facilitate the labor market success of women above and beyond the increase in wages and general benefits in several important respects:

- (a) Unionization is likely to lead to empowerment of women in the workplace. Preunionization drives undertaken by organizations such as the Working Women Coalition, and Women Employed indicate that success with single-issue reforms is highly correlated with enhanced self-esteem and greater identification with women's issues.
- (b) In order for unions to remain economically solvent, they are beginning to organize largely female white-collar workers. This is requiring unions to hire women organizers, and to demonstrate their commitment to the goals and values of the women's movement.
- (c) Individual members can make use of the multiple legal remedies for union mishandling of discrimination grievances. The cost involved in these cases has made unions extremely sensitive to this issue. Local leaders are becoming more likely to treat such grievances with the seriousness they warrant.
- (d) Several unions, as well as the Coalition for Labor Women, have developed and disseminated model contract provisions to local unions, including proposals for part-time workers, use of plantwide seniority, provisions for job posting and bidding, open entry to training and upgrading programs, employer contribution to child care programs, and union participation in the development of job evaluation schemes.

- (e) Women's Affairs Departments can serve to keep women's issues visible, if not on the central agenda. They can serve as a stimulus to increased participation of women members and pressure officers to hire more women staff members. These departments are strongest when they operate under a convention-mandated budget, for then they operate independently of the central leadership structure.

The barriers that deter union-initiated action on behalf of women workers are substantial. Few unions, beyond the construction trades, exercise any control over hiring or initial placement into a job. Even fewer unions address the issue of promotion. Unions in production have little reason to be interested in promotion, since there are not many cases of promotion on the job. In job transfer or bidding rights to transfer, unions have relied on their general seniority system.

Programs and policies of differential benefit to women such as comparable worth, maternity or paternity leave with pay, or child care programs are costly relative to the bread and butter issues surrounding most contract negotiations. Any employer who accepts these demands as part of a contract without his or her competitors doing so is put at a competitive disadvantage to other firms. Unions might make some progress on these issues by following a step-at-a-time strategy, either through collective bargaining or legislation.

Because unions have been such male-dominated institutions, they have been considered alien territory by most women workers. To overcome this barrier, unions will have to carve out a new image. As a start, this may involve the development of affirmative action plans for leadership, staff and representatives at conventions.

Moreover, unions are pluralistic political institutions, with a variety of constituencies of which women are only one. As a result, union leadership prefers to cast issues in as universal a way as possible, as for example their use of seniority and across-the-board wage increases. Unless rank and file women form a cohesive pressure group, it remains unlikely that their demands will be accommodated.

Seniority operates as a deterrent to equal employment policy in at least two important respects during economic downturns: first, in firms with recently implemented affirmative action plans, women and minorities are likely to be laid off unless special provisions are made. Second,

seniority deters work-sharing as an option to layoffs, unless work-sharing is combined with some way of maintaining the wage level of workers, as in the reform of unemployment insurance enacted in California.

Government has already done a considerable amount to heighten the awareness of unions to equal employment opportunity policy. The efforts of the NLRB, of EEOC, OFCCP, and of the DOL need to be built upon however. The enforcement powers of the NLRB need to be strengthened, so that it is granted powers equivalent to those of the EEOC to deal with union- (and management-) condoned sex and race discrimination. Both the EEOC and the OFCCP need to recognize that the union is jointly liable with management under DFR for the existing contract and coresponsible for its enforcement. These agencies should be under obligation to inform the union of the complaints at hand, to include the union representatives in the investigative process, and to work out the conciliation agreement with the union as a participant of the proceedings. The EEOC should require unions to be involved more fully in issues related to discrimination in hiring and promotion. It should encourage union-initiated programs to overcome sex-segregated hiring practices. Because of the negative consequences of Gardner v. Denver, the EEOC should provide accelerated hearings before an administrative judge for union members who are claimants in sex discrimination cases in lieu of arbitration.

OFCCP should build on its apprenticeship quotas for the construction trades by issuing similar quotas for hiring women graduates from these and other training programs. It also should issue quotas for hiring women to every Government contractor. These quotas should be on a sliding scale, with the proportion rising as more women emerge from apprenticeships and other training programs. All Government-supported training programs should include requirements for a specific proportion of women and age entry restrictions should be lifted as a qualification.

The development of two reports is recommended: A Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin on the content of union-management contracts encompassing provisions dealing with support systems for women, the existence of affirmative action programs, the extent of training programs, and so on. The Women's Bureau should develop and widely disseminate to working women a brochure dealing with sexual harassment and ways to eliminate it.

Finally, the enactment or improvement of several pieces of social legislation can have a differential impact on union women. These include: the improvement of private pension plans, a national policy providing for paid maternity leave and for support of day care programs, and Federal aid to labor education including subsidies to community colleges and land grant institutions.

PENSION SYSTEMS AND WOMEN--EQUITY ISSUES

Sara Kaltenborn*

The private pension system is regulated by the Federal Government under the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) and supported by favorable tax treatment which will cost the Federal Government almost 13 billion dollars in 1980. Private pensions are an important part of the American retirement income system, but many aspects of the rules they use in allocating benefits produce results that may be considered inequitable. Women, in particular, are adversely affected by private pension plan requirements, and, as a result, women make up the majority of the elderly poor.

Women's labor force participation rates are increasing, but they continue to bear the primary burden of home and family responsibilities. Even when these responsibilities do not prevent women from participating in the labor force, they are likely to interfere with employment, and the labor force participation patterns that result frequently lead to the loss of pension benefits under the private pension system.

Women who work are likely to receive low benefits, or no benefits, from private pensions, because they are less likely than men to be covered by pension plans. Also, benefits are generally based on earnings and length of service, and women are likely to have lower earnings and fewer years of service than men.

However, these obvious disadvantages that women face under private pension systems may be less important than other pension plan provisions which result in women receiving lower benefits than men, even in proportion to their lifetime covered earnings. This is because plan provisions (such as deferred vesting, backloading, and the lack of portability) favor long-term workers over short-term workers, and women are less likely than men to have many years of service with the same employer. Also, plans which base benefits on a small number of an employee's highest earnings years favor employees who are upwardly mobile over workers who have little opportunity for career advancement, and the latter group includes a disproportionate number of women. Women also generally have lower earnings than men, and all of the plan provisions mentioned in the paper operate indirectly to favor higher income employees. The most serious disadvantage women face as low-income employees, however, results from integration of private pensions with Social Security, a practice by which employers are permitted to explicitly favor high-income employees over low-income employees.

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Finally, even though it is women's family responsibilities that interfere with their abilities to acquire pension protection through their own employment, they do not receive adequately compensating protection as the wives of men who participate in pension plans. When a marriage terminates in death or divorce, a former wife may be left with no pension rights, even if she was married for many years to a man working under a pension plan.

Private pensions are intended to supplement Social Security in replacing preretirement income, and at most income levels the gap between Social Security benefits and the income needed to maintain the preretirement standard of living is about 30 percent of preretirement earnings. The social goal of pensions, therefore, would be to fill the 30 percent gap with benefits that are at least proportional to lifetime earnings. The cost of fully meeting that goal for all people would be high, and is certainly higher than the amount currently allocated to financing pensions. However, pensions also serve other unrelated goals, and, as a result, a few people receive adequate pensions, while most others do not. This paper focuses primarily on questions of equity in the distribution of pension benefits by the current system, rather than on the overall adequacy of pension resources.

Certain options, (listed in the following Outline of Options) such as requiring survivors' benefits when marriages end in death, and dividing pension rights when marriages end in divorce, would provide much needed protection for women as wives and could be implemented promptly. Other options, such as changing the tax treatment of pension funds and prohibiting practices that result in inequitable benefit distributions, would cause fundamental changes in the private pension system, but such options should be given serious consideration.

OUTLINE OF OPTIONS

I. Short term - "no cost" options

A. Survivor's benefits - Amend ERISA to:

1. Require notice to spouse
2. Require consent of spouse 1/
3. Make survivor's benefits mandatory for everyone

B. Preretirement death

1. Allow election of survivor's option at any time after vesting, and require payment even if employee is not an active plan participant at the time of death
2. Require payment of survivor's benefit to spouse of any employee who dies after vesting
3. Require lump sum distribution at the time of death for roll over by surviving spouse

C. Divorce - Amend ERISA to:

1. Explicitly allow inclusion of pension rights in property subject to distribution under State law 2/
2. Allow voluntary election of survivor's benefits for divorced spouses
 - a. Allow State courts to order election of survivor's benefits
 - b. Require election of survivor's benefits, unless ordered otherwise by a court
 - c. Require election of survivor's benefits in all cases

1/ The President's Commission on Pension Policy, in its Interim Report, recommended that survivor protection should be automatic, and that "To waive the benefit protection, both spouses should have to sign a waiver witnessed by the plan administrator or agent after having been informed of the provision by the administrator." May 1980, page 32.

2/ The President's Commission on Pension Policy recommended that pensions should be defined as property and taken into account at the time of divorce. It is studying ways to implement this recommendation.

3. Require plans to make lump sum distributions for roll over by divorced spouses
 - a. If ordered by a State court
 - b. Automatically, unless ordered otherwise by a court
 - c. Automatically in all cases
4. Otherwise require automatic distribution of pension rights without court order

D. Retroactivity

1. Survivor's benefits - require notice to retired couples and require plans to convert benefits in payment status to joint and survivor option if:
 - a. Requested by former employee
 - b. Requested by spouse
2. Divorce
 - a. Require State courts to reopen divorce decrees on petition by either party
 - b. Require retroactive distribution of pension rights automatically without court order

II. Long-range options

- A. Mandatory pensions - require all employers to provide pension coverage for all employees
- B. Replace IRA requirements with ones designed to encourage greater retirement income savings by low-income people
- C. Amend requirements for qualified plans to:
 1. Reduce age requirement for participation
 2. Require one year full vesting

3. Require lump sum distribution for roll over upon termination at option of employee
 4. Prohibit backloading
 5. Prohibit integration
 6. Reduce the maximum earnings on which benefits can be based
 7. Prohibit use of sex-based actuarial tables in computing benefits for individuals
- D. Provide other incentives for plans that meet the requirement of C above
- E. Eliminate present tax incentives and replace them with ones designed to more directly meet government objectives
- F. Combination of C and E

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